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THE

IOWA JOURNAL

OF

HISTORY AND POLITICS

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH
EDITOR

VOLUME XXVI
1928

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BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH

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ABANDONED RAILROADS OF IOWA

Possibly no phase of Iowa history is more replete with disappointments to individuals and communities alike than the chapter which deals with the building of railroads. By the mere stroke of a draftsman's pen, often in some remote office, the destiny of entire communities has hung in the balance, and their welfare has been sealed "for weal or for woe". The location of the principal arteries of commerce spelled financial ruin for some and fortune for others.

Railroads are usually considered reasonably permanent, but scattered widely throughout the State of Iowa may be found the remains of numerous abandoned lines. The traveler along the public highways or upon the existing railways may observe these mute evidences of unrealized or shattered dreams, occasionally in most unexpected places. While the history of the State is not yet old, it is frequently with great difficulty that a casual inquirer may find persons who can furnish satisfactory information concerning these phantom roads, or throw a correct light upon the purposes and intentions of the builders.

The principal concrete evidences of such previous lines are always earthworks, known as "grades". The obliteration of the "cuts", "fills", and "barrow pits" belonging to these old "grades" has proven a most difficult task for either the hand of man or of nature: these so-called "roadbeds" persist indefinitely and may often be easily traced for many miles at a stretch by the most inexperienced observer.

All artificial earthworks serving at present no apparent useful purpose should not, however, be indiscriminately classed as abandoned railway grades, and reasonable care

should, therefore, be exercised before announcing definite or final conclusions. Considered from the viewpoint of the purposes for which these earthworks were originally intended, old embankments fall into three distinct classes or groups: railroads, highways, and levees. The works of ancient man may also be confusing, but in Iowa there are but few such embankments which by any possible chance can be mistaken for modern works. Serpentine kames or "eskers", sometimes built as deposits upon the glacial outwash plane, frequently bear striking resemblance to old grades, but these are likewise rare in Iowa and need receive no further consideration.

Abandoned railway grades are usually quite readily distinguishable from abandoned public highways. A railroad grade is generally so narrow on top as to preclude the likelihood of its ever having been used for highway purposes. The gradients of the railway also run smoothly over hill and dale on gently undulating profiles following alignments composed entirely of tangents connecting graceful curves, while the profiles of the early abandoned highways are usually quite erratic, their alignment being composed of straight lines, irregular curves, and angular corners, often with right angles, which could never have been intended for railway purposes.

Levee embankments often bear a striking similarity to old railroad grades, especially those levees which were constructed in the early days by pioneer settlers along the banks of the interior rivers to protect individual farms or fields. Since railroads frequently followed the course of streams in seeking the most practical route from one place to another, and both the levee and the old grade are now frequently obscured by heavy undergrowth and more mature timber, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two. Levees, however, differ from the railways in that

their gradient is uniform, always conforming to the gradient of the valley. They have abrupt angles and may usually be traced to their termination at some not far distant point on the valley wall at a place slightly above the high water mark.

Railways which have been abandoned after completion, upon close investigation of the surface of the grade, show the imprint of the cross-ties in the turf, these prints and pieces of the old oak cross-ties being yet plainly discernible on the grades of our earliest abandoned roads. Indeed they have been known to persist over a period of sixty years, furnishing unmistakable evidence as to the purpose of the grade. Iron spikes, bolts, nuts, and washers, as well as cinders, ballast, and an occasional old "link and pin" may also be found, and a short walk along the line is certain to reveal the remains of stone culverts or the decayed wooden piling of former bridges, with piers or caissons at places where the larger streams were crossed.

In the classification of abandoned railroad grades or embankments, there are four distinct types or groups, each representing in the aggregate a considerable mileage: (1) those thrown up along the route of projected lines which were never completed, no trains ever having been operated over them and for the most part never having had the "ties or iron" "laid down" upon them; (2) those grades which have been abandoned by existing roads, upon relocation of their right-of-way, in the process of securing reduced curvature, easier gradients, or shortened mileage; (3) those grades which represent service of a temporary character, rendered to some form of industry, such as switches, spurs, or extensions to mines, quarries, shale, clay, and gravel pits, or for the building of bridges, canals, levees, or the purpose of riprapping along the shores of meandering rivers, no regular service ever having been inaugurated upon

them for the benefit of the general public; (4) grades representing lines, promoted and built in good faith with the idea of permanency, which later failed. These were built largely for the purpose of serving and securing better marketing facilities for agricultural districts remote from existing railroads, or for the purpose of obtaining better railroad connections with competing neighboring lines for already well established communities.

It is this class only, including some thirty roads and involving in the aggregate over three hundred and fifty miles of track, built at a cost of approximately ten millions of dollars, that is to receive our attention at this time, and only such roads as were operated by steam power are to be considered. These thirty lines and their involvements afford an intimate background for further economic studies of local character and have relatively greater historic significance than their number and importance would at first seem to indicate.

While the first steam railroad in America began operation in 1830, the railroad building epoch so far as Iowa was concerned did not begin in earnest until 1855. At first only a few hundred miles of track were laid each year, the total increasing annually until the peak mileage for steam roads was reached in 1914, at which time there were 10,018.92 miles of railroads in operation in the State. Since 1914 the total mileage has steadily decreased. The report of the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners for 1925 shows the following figures:

10,002.39 miles in 1915,	showing a net loss of	116.53 miles
9,942.75 miles in 1916,	showing a net loss of	59.64 miles
9,871.78 miles in 1917,	showing a net loss of	70.97 miles
9,841.17 miles in 1918,	showing a net loss of	30.61 miles
9,842.05 miles in 1919,	showing a net gain of	.88 miles
9,841.99 miles in 1920,	showing a net loss of	.06 miles
9,841.97 miles in 1921,	showing a net loss of	.02 miles

9,835.69 miles in 1922, showing a net loss of	6.28 miles
9,827.37 miles in 1923, showing a net loss of	8.32 miles
9,834.17 miles in 1924, showing a net gain of	6.80 miles
9,756.92 miles in 1925, showing a net loss of	77.25 miles

So it will be seen that during this period new construction has failed to keep pace with the abandonment of existing lines by 262 miles. Other minor factors have contributed to this shrinkage of mileage. These include: (1) straightening of track, thereby shortening existing mileage; (2) lessening of mileage reported, upon correction of length upon remeasurement; (3) drawing in of the stub ends of branch lines by removal of track; (4) arranging joint operation over a single track, for and by two parallel lines for the purpose of reducing the expense of maintenance of way, one existing line being removed, or similarly by consolidation or the purchase of one parallel road by another, one of the tracks being abandoned and removed; and (5) reclassifying mileage reported, some main line track being set over into secondary track mileage column for the purpose of avoiding the higher taxation in the former class.

One of the questions most frequently asked by those interested in the history of abandoned railroad lines is, how is it that so few of these independent railroads, built at much expense and usually rendering logical and legitimate service to communities in need of such railroad facilities, are absorbed by the great existing systems? It is a well known fact that during the early or formative period of railroad building many of the present large systems were created "piece-meal" by the absorption and consolidation of numerous small, weak, and bankrupt lines, but with changing conditions this practice has now ceased almost entirely. A number of factors enter into the answer to this question.

In agricultural regions the income and prosperity of a

railroad is related directly to the size, productivity, and population of the territory served. In the early stages of railroad development most Iowa roads were "through roads", enjoying a considerable percentage of so-called "through", or "long haul" business along with their local patronage. Those roads which were in the line of the transcontinental flow were often prosperous beyond all expectation and became the nucleus of the great trunk line systems of the present time. Branching and parallel lines were absorbed, frequently as feeders or for the purpose of heading off the growth of other formidable combinations which threatened to become serious rivals within their territory.

At first railroad mileage increased at such an enormous rate annually that the increase of the supporting population did not keep pace. As a result the point was soon reached where mileage and profits on the one hand and population and business on the other balanced, and further construction of branch lines in new and competing territory became less and less profitable. Railroad officials were not slow in recognizing the laws governing this supply and demand and once they became thoroughly understood by railroad managements territorial limits between adjacent competing systems were definitely established by gentlemen's agreements or by treaty arrangements and when this stage was reached the days of railroad building upon a large scale in Iowa were over. This period was reached in Iowa in the early nineties, when further extensions of lines slowed down rather abruptly, leaving numerous thriving communities in various parts of the State without the boon of the much coveted "iron horse".

When these abandoned roads were going under the hammer, the larger rail systems of adjoining territories, which would have been logical purchasers of these failed lines and could have made better use of them than any other,

were themselves sometimes in financial straits or in the hands of a receiver, and were not, therefore, in a position to make the necessary outlay for acquiring additional property. At other times these larger systems were engaged in developing virgin territory elsewhere along their routes and felt that the capital needed to acquire the property of these bankrupt lines could be used to better advantage elsewhere. Again, in view of constantly increasing wage scales and taxes, there was little incentive to assume or invite the liabilities which must be incurred through the operation of increased branch line mileage when the greater share of the business of these bankrupt lines, having no other outlet, would naturally fall to them anyway upon the removal of the short line road.

Other factors might be considered. Some railroad executives reasoned that if railroad companies made a practice of acquiring and operating these lines promiscuously, promoters would make it a business to encourage the building of such lines; and communities, desirous of securing railroad facilities, would see to it that the roads were financed even though there was a great probability that the money so spent would be lost. This explains why larger systems often refused to absorb a short line road.

Contrary to the prevailing popular opinion, the larger systems with which these short line railroads connected were almost without exception cordial and friendly to the independent lines, furnishing cars without discrimination and often going out of their way to render assistance in emergencies by the loan of equipment, by the extension of credits for freight charges, and by assistance in repairing motive power. Indeed the larger railroads were exceedingly careful not to contribute to the failure of these smaller roads. Among the creditors of these failed lines, the names of the larger connecting systems almost always appeared

for substantial amounts, along with the balance of the creditors.

LIFE HISTORY OF ABANDONED ROADS

The story and life history of no two of these abandoned roads is exactly alike, but the stages between the period of their inception and their failure and dismantlement are strikingly similar. A composite story of the process is about as follows. At first there developed an increasing demand for the construction of the road, either the outgrowth of a real need for service due to remoteness from existing railroads, or an attempt to satisfy the pride of certain communities which for one reason or another were left without a railroad at the close of the great railroad building epoch. During this formative period, routes were planned, and presented by the promoters, and surveys were frequently made along the route of some proposed road of an earlier period.

From time to time meetings were held, and the interest was aroused to fever heat by rumors that some belated building program on the part of strong lines was about to come their way. These rumors subsided but usually left the desire for a railroad even greater than before. This intense desire on the part of whole communities grew until it amounted to almost an obsession, citizens sometimes imagining that all that remained for their town to become a thriving metropolis was a proper railroad outlet, whereupon manufacturing would spring up spontaneously and prosperity would everywhere abound.

As the sentiment further crystallized, some one appeared upon the scene with the necessary initiative to direct this enthusiasm into definite, concrete action. Sometimes this leader came from within the community itself, but more frequently some promoter, sensing the situation, dropped in from the outside, occasionally with the secret ambition of

"fleecing the flock" for his own benefit by taking advantage of the inexperience of the average individual inland community in the matter of high finance.

The usual course was to perfect a preliminary organization. Prominent men of the locality, particularly those of some affluence, were conspicuous among the tentative officers and directors of the company. Subscription papers were circulated, the proceeds of which were to be used for the purpose of hiring engineers to "run" preliminary surveys, generally along two or more routes. Needless to say the reports therefrom were almost without exception flattering, and the routes were generally pronounced "entirely feasible". The road now entered the embryonic stage. Enthusiasm grew. Everybody got into the game of railroad building, personal business was neglected, and all other interests were "side-tracked" for the railroad.

The temporary organization was then made permanent, and the momentous question of selecting a name for the road was decided. A euphonious name was often chosen which would have done justice to a great transcontinental system. Articles of incorporation were next obtained, and the campaign was opened for the sale of stock, which was made easier by the intense enthusiasm. This step was followed by the selection of the permanent officers and the employment of a civil engineer to make the permanent surveys and oversee the construction of the road. Grades had to be established, a route laid out, and the right of way had to be secured. Often much of this was donated, either outright or by subscription for common stock of the road, which was frequently quite worthless.

Local bond issues were also frequently resorted to, and liberal amounts were often voted for the benefit of the railroad enterprise. To be legal, these had to contain certain provisions fixing a date for the completion of the road and

the beginning of operation between specified terminals. Herein lay great difficulties for the promoters, as railroad building, under the most favorable auspices, is a slow and tedious process beset with frequent and unforeseen delays.

These bond issues also required that the process of construction should proceed with dispatch, so contracts were let for grading the right of way, and the occasion of breaking the first sod was celebrated as a "gala" day. The construction of the road had at last begun in earnest: the long awaited railroad had become almost a reality. Everybody was happy, felicitations were extended, old communities took on new life, and an air of importance and expectancy pervaded the local atmosphere.

The prosaic matter of grading was prosecuted with more or less efficiency; contracts were let for ties, timber, bridges, and steel; and town sites were selected and named, often in honor of prominent local personages, but more often for officers of the road who sought thus to immortalize their names for all future time. Equipment was purchased, the interest centering in the question of "motive power"—should it be called a "locomotive" or just plain "engine". Of course whatever it was called, it was a "mogul". Another question of all consuming interest was whether the road would be able to buy a new coach or would the patrons have to be content to ride in one purchased second-hand.

Grading was a slow process and in the interval the better business minds and those with more mature judgment who had invested in the road had time to size up the situation before the road was actually completed. On figuring the mounting costs, they often decided in their own minds that the prospects for the financial success of the road were really none too optimistic, and many stock subscriptions — apparently made in good faith — were never paid. At the same time there was much quiet and skillful maneuvering

on the part of the better financiers among the original stockholders to protect their interests in one way or another, should the venture ultimately collapse.

By this time the officers of the road were getting a good insight into the problems involved in railroad building. Many had pledged their private fortunes, at least in part, to see their pet hobby become a reality, but their visions of becoming great railroad magnates rapidly waned. The cost of the road usually exceeded the modest estimates made by the engineer, a fact which added financial embarrassment to the management; and to provide funds to complete the building of the road, bond issues were resorted to.

These were generally first mortgage bonds covering all the property of the corporation, and the rate of interest was usually high. These bonds were frequently sold to innocent purchasers, sometimes to small investors in the eastern bond markets, who were inexperienced in methods of railroad finance, but were attracted by the high interest rates and too far removed from the road in question to investigate its merits easily. At this stage the high sounding name of the road was an asset. With the money raised by the sale of bonds, the road was at last completed, though sometimes there was not enough cash to make final settlements with all of the creditors, so mechanics' and material liens were filed for labor, equipment, and supplies. It was not, however, until the final completion of the road, when operation had commenced, that the greatest difficulty of the management ensued. Before the end of the first year of operation, it was often apparent to all that the road was a financial failure, the entire revenue frequently failing to pay the actual operating expenses to say nothing of providing for the depreciation of the property, repairs to track and equipment, payment of taxes, insurance, and interest charges, and for the retirement of the bond issues.

Lawsuits were soon brought against the road, usually by those least interested in its continued operation; judgments were rendered; and the real process of disintegration began. The officers of the road were often capable and energetic men and made heroic efforts to save the road. The floating of new bond issues was sometimes attempted, occasionally with some degree of success; additional stock was sold; and frequently cash subscriptions, gifts, and donations of labor were solicited from parties interested along the route in keeping the road going. Thus matters would drift from bad to worse.

Eventually a receivership was requested, in the hopes of untangling the now complicated financial affairs of the road. By this time the track and equipment had so disintegrated for lack of adequate repairs that only a low degree of efficiency in operation could be maintained; wrecks, breakdowns, and frequent delays occurred, and much dissatisfaction developed, in addition to the general apprehension as to the ultimate outcome of the venture.

Finally the operation of trains might be reduced to a minimum or perhaps stopped altogether. Little hope for a successful reorganization could be entertained, and it was more and more evident that nothing could stop the final disintegration of the entire project, although in certain rare instances a complete reorganization served for a time to rehabilitate a road.

Then came the scramble for advantage between the creditors in the matter of the final distribution of the assets, if it developed that there were any. Much litigation followed. The material men who had placed liens for ties, rails, bridge-timber, and other supplies, seemingly had the advantage over the other creditors, for the "iron" was the most tangible of all the assets, as it was the least subject to decay, and usually found a ready sale in the second hand

rail markets. The real estate, especially the right of way, was of the least value, as under the basic laws governing the right of eminent domain it reverted to the owners of the original property from which it was taken in case a railroad failed and ceased to operate.

Usually there was little left for distribution among the bond holders. Eventually the property was ordered sold by the courts, usually being bid in by the lien holders, who had the advantage over the balance of the creditors. Permission would then be secured by the receiver from the Board of Railroad Commissioners, now in conjunction with the Interstate Commerce Commission, for a certificate of abandonment, permitting the dismantlement of the track, which was usually removed for its junk value. Such other equipment as was of value would likewise be sold, but usually there may still be found around the terminals of these abandoned roads the remains of a few old cars and coaches rotting down with age, which were too worthless to find a market. Steel bridges were generally sold for a very small fraction of their original cost, as were also the old depots and other buildings. Ties and timbers of small culverts and bridges were usually left in site, sometimes to be dug up and torn down for firewood and for other purposes by the residents along the route.

THE EFFECT OF ABANDONMENT UPON THE COMMUNITY

It is with a feeling of sincere regret, to say nothing of humiliation, that most communities view the loss of a railroad, especially if it is the only one and the people realize that this is to be the only chance they will have for securing and maintaining railroad service. Entire communities are frequently divided into factions over the loss of the road, charges of fraud, graft, and mismanagement are frequently made, friendships are destroyed, fortunes lost, and the

community would have been far better off had the railroad idea been abandoned without an attempt at construction.

Before the days of the truck and automobile, the matter of losing a railroad was a much more serious matter for a community than it is at present, though the particular community affected by the loss is obviously little worse off after the railroad is "pulled up" than before it was built, so far as marketing its produce is concerned. In these days of improved roads, carrying busses and trucks, the short, independent or branch line railroad is not nearly so essential as formerly, especially in the matter of handling passengers, mail, express, or small shipments of local freight. Indeed, in some respects auto service is superior to railroad facilities for the purposes mentioned, being more frequent. The passengers are carried direct to the heart of the town, while shipments of freight and express are delivered direct to the door, thus saving delays in handling and drayage charges from depot to store. Auto service, however, can not be compared with rail service, in such matters as handling car-lot shipments of fuel, brick, lumber, cement, and similar material, which usually are brought in from a distance, and out-going shipments of grain, stock, and farm produce to remote markets. Communities can scarcely dispense with railroad service for these purposes.

With traffic divided almost equally between the auto carrier and the railroad, the one great question which now confronts both the public and the common carriers alike is whether these branch lines can possibly be continued in operation without constant loss. If this division of revenue continues, a choice must be made of several possible solutions of the difficulty. (1) Freight rates must be increased upon such commodities as must continue to be handled by the railroads over these branch lines, and passenger fares likewise raised on these lines. (2) Some method may be

found whereby the operating expenses may be reduced to a point corresponding with the income of the line. (3) The lines in question may be abandoned by the railroads, as it is obviously unfair to the common carrier to be compelled to operate certain property at a loss, or even less fair that such deficits be made up from their long haul revenue upon their main lines.

That the first two of these suggestions would prove effective is a matter of some doubt, for higher rates would certainly drive more and more business away from the railroad into the hands of the auto carrier, thereby defeating the purpose of the increase. Likewise the curtailing of expenses must certainly involve a like curtailment of both the quantity and the quality of service rendered and the auto carrier will receive the greater profit by this alternative. The maintenance of the branch line railroads is one of the most difficult problems confronting railroad executives today. These problems are immediately before the people of Iowa for solution, and it appears that, in the interest of economical and efficient railroad administration, many of our present branch lines must be abandoned as soon as the consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission is obtained for their removal.

The coming of good roads, built and maintained at public expense, connecting all of the principal centers and county seats, coupled with the greater efficiency in automobile construction, maintenance, and operation, is favorable to the enlargement of automobile transportation facilities and makes the position of the railroads much more difficult of adjustment.

What will be the effect of the ultimate withdrawal of rail service upon branch lines, or its curtailment to the status of freight switching of car load lots only, as is already the case on several such lines, is problematical. In the past the

loss of railroad facilities has cast considerable blight over communities, with attendant loss of population and morale. Reduction to the status of an inland town has usually been followed by decadence in the life of a community. Many of the younger or more progressive of the citizens remove to larger places, desiring to keep in touch with progress, as symbolized by the spirit of the railroad, leaving behind only the particularly well established and the older element so attached to their old homes that they refuse to be torn away from them. The community generally settles back to a drab existence, broken only by the coming of the modern consolidated school, which lends a certain metropolitan aspect to its life. Under these circumstances, only the well established communities survive; upon the removal of the railroad the waystations, switches, and embryonic towns fade away into nothingness.

THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF ABANDONMENT

There are two aspects which need to be considered in a discussion of the legal phases of the abandonment of railroad mileage in Iowa. First, there are those legal processes by which a railroad exercises the right of eminent domain, as provided by statute, and condemns a right of way. Corresponding with this are the privileges which the owner of the original tract from which the right of way was taken may have to repossess such land in case of its abandonment for railroad purposes. The second group of the legal processes is made up of the various steps which must be taken by railroads or receivers before a line may become inoperative or the track be dismantled.

In the first code of Iowa, published in 1851, the subject of railroads was not mentioned. On January 18, 1853, however, an act was passed by the Fourth General Assembly,[1]

[1] *Laws of Iowa*, 1852-1853, Ch. 31.

taking effect on February 9, 1853, which granted railroad companies the "Right of Way". This act was embodied in the *Revision of 1860* under the section which provides for "Taking Private Property for Works of Internal Improvement". It provided "that any railroad corporation in this state heretofore organized, or that may be hereafter organized, under the laws of this state, may take and hold, under the provisions contained in this act, so much real estate as may be necessary for the location, construction, and convenient use of the road. Such corporation may also take, remove, and use for the construction and repair of said road and its appurtenances, any earth, gravel, stone, timber, or other materials, on or from the land so taken: *provided,* that the land so taken otherwise than by the consent of the owners, shall not exceed one hundred feet in width, except for wood and water stations, unless where greater width is necessary for excavation, embankment, or depositing waste earth."[2]

"Such railroad corporation may purchase and use real estate for a price to be agreed upon with the owners thereof, or the damages to be paid by such corporation for any real estate taken as aforesaid, when not agreed upon, shall be ascertained and determined by commissioners to be appointed by the sheriff of the county, where such real estate is situated."[3] Certain provisions were added in the sections following.[4]

The exercise of these rights on the part of corporations in taking private property for public use is known as the right of "eminent domain". The unjust exercise of these privileges by corporations is, however, restrained by coun-

[2] *Revision of 1860,* Sec. 1314.

[3] *Revision of 1860,* Sec. 1315.

[4] *Revision of 1860,* Secs. 1316–1320. These describe the method of procedure for condemnation.

ter-rights of the individuals owning the real estate so taken. The laws provide that in case of the abandonment or disuse of the property under certain conditions, as set forth by statute, such property reverts, with all appurtenances thereto, to the owners of the tract to which it originally belonged. The earliest Iowa statute relating to the subject contained the following provision: "In any case where a railway, constructed in whole or in part, has ceased to be operated or used for more than ten years, or in any case where the construction of a railway has been commenced, and work on the same has ceased for more than ten years, and same remains unfinished, it shall be deemed and taken that the corporation or person thus in default has abandoned all right and privilege over so much as remains unfinished as aforesaid",[5] but "in every such case of abandonment, any other corporation may enter upon such abandoned work, or any part thereof, and acquire the right of way over the same and the right to any unfinished work or grading found thereon and the title thereto, by proceeding in the manner provided", but "parties who have previously received compensation in any form for the right of way on the line which has not been refunded by them, shall not be permitted to recover the second time".[6]

In general, these provisions of the law as regards abandonment or non-use of railroad right of ways hold through to the present day with the modification that now in the case of non-use or abandonment for a period of five years, if the rails have not been removed, or four years after the rails have been removed, the interested parties may enter and appropriate the property of the railroad so left,[7] and if "the railway or any part thereof shall not be used or

[5] *Code of 1873*, Sec. 1260.

[6] *Code of 1873*, Sec. 1261.

[7] *Code of 1897*, Sec. 2015.

operated for a period of eight years the right of way, including the roadbed, shall revert to the owner of the land from which said right of way was taken.''[8] These statutes have been amply tested in the courts so their interpretation and constitutionality can no longer be questioned.[9]

The first question of abandonment in Iowa, which was really an abandonment of service, was created in 1882, when on March 7th the citizens of Northwood and Worth County filed a complaint with the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners against the Central Iowa Railway Company, demanding that the company reëstablish train service into Northwood from Manly Junction. The service had been inaugurated upon the completion of the Central Railroad Company of Iowa in October, 1871, and the road had operated until August, 1880.[10] In the hearing it was brought out that the people of Northwood induced the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern to operate its trains into Northwood over the Central Iowa's tracks from Manly Junction thereby dividing the patronage over that portion of the line leased to the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern to such an extent as to render the operation of trains by this road impracticable. It was further stated that the Central Railroad Company of Iowa was foreclosed upon in 1875 and transferred to the Farmer's Loan and Trust Company of New York, that the Central Iowa Railway Company was organized on May 15, 1879, to acquire a road which was already built, and that the second company did not promise to carry out the plans of the former com-

[8] *Code of 1897*, Sec. 2015; Senate File 187, Sec. 58, Fortieth General Assembly, Extra Session.

[9] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1899, p. 390.

[10] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1882, pp. 468–481.

pany and was not bound by them. The commissioners demanded that the company reinstate its service. A rehearing on the subject was denied on July 25, 1883, and this opinion was subsequently sustained by Judge Ruddick in the district court.[11]

This was a very important decision, for it was the first real test of the authority of the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners which had been created by an act of the Seventeenth General Assembly.[12] This act also repealed Chapter 68 of the *Acts of the Fifteenth General Assembly,* the first serious attempt at railroad regulation in the State.[13] The powers, duties, and scope of the Board of Railroad Commissioners were gradually broadened and became well defined by usage, precedent, and court decisions. In general the Commissioners, occasionally in conjunction with the courts, have had full authority over the matter of abandonment of service and mileage. The usual procedure was somewhat as follows. A road suspended or withdrew service; interested parties then filed complaint against the company with the Commission; a hearing was arranged; and the decision of the Board was rendered in accordance with the evidence.

Since the adoption by Congress of the Interstate Commerce Act as amended on February 28, 1920, popularly known as the Esch-Cummins Bill,[14] this procedure has changed. The hearings are now held jointly before the Board of Railroad Commissioners and the Interstate Commerce Commission, but the final decision is rendered by the

[11] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1886, pp. 473–474.

[12] *Laws of Iowa,* 1878, Ch. 77.

[13] *Laws of Iowa,* 1874, Ch. 68.

[14] Lewis's *Laws of the Sixty-sixth, Sixty-seventh, and Sixty-eighth Congresses, Relating to Interstate and Foreign Commerce,* p. 25.

latter body, the Iowa Commission acting in an advisory capacity only. Under this new law, whenever permission for abandonment is sought, a hearing is requested by the parties interested, and abandonment and dismantlement may take place only upon the issuance of a certificate of authority for abandonment by the Interstate Commerce Commission which specifies what track may be abandoned and the date after which such abandonment may take place.

SKETCHES OF ABANDONED ROADS

The Atlantic Northern and Southern Railroad.— For many years prior to the building of the northern division of the Atlantic Northern and Southern Railway Company's line from Atlantic, Cass County, to the towns of Elk Horn and Kimballton, in 1907, these thriving Danish settlements had sorely needed railroad communication with the outside world. To build and equip the seventeen miles of road cost in round numbers about $300,000, much of this sum being raised by subscription for stock in the road by the residents and business men of Atlantic and of the other territory to be served. In addition to these subscriptions the sum of $48,000 was raised by taxes levied in Clay Township, Shelby County, and in Sharon Township, Audubon County. To secure the money voted by Sharon Township a promise was made that the road should be completed to the town of Kimballton by the close of December, 1907, but ground was not broken on the job until July 15th of that year, and December 31st found the railroad some little distance from the town.

That the legality of the tax might not be questioned, however, the citizens of Kimballton met on the afternoon of December 31, 1907, and decided to incorporate so that the corporate limits of the village might be extended to meet the railroad. Thus Kimballton literally greeted the coming

of the "iron horse" with outstretched arms. February 1, 1908, found the road completed into Kimballton.

This portion of the road served a number of small but exceedingly prosperous communities, was well built and equipped to handle the business, and at first seemed to be a paying venture. So much so that visions were entertained of a much longer "through road" which would connect the communities on the north with some point on the Omaha division of the Chicago Great Western and with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy's main line on the south at Villisca. It was also considered possible that a road might be extended to Clarinda where the line of the proposed Iowa and Southwestern Railroad Company might be picked up, giving a connection with the Wabash at Blanchard. This scheme contemplated in all about one hundred miles of road.

The first link in this new line was to be the gap between Atlantic and Villisca, a distance of about thirty-eight miles, which with the line to Kimballton would give the road about fifty-five miles of track and a valuable connection with the Burlington's main line at Villisca. Using the argument that seventeen miles of railroad had paid operating expenses and fifty-five miles would pay a great deal better, much additional stock was sold, and construction was commenced on the southern division about July 10, 1910, when Shugart and Barnes Brothers of Des Moines started grading through what was known as Marker's Summit, seven miles south of Atlantic. By December 15th, the grade was completed ready for the laying of the ties and the sixty pound steel rails, which was done by two gangs. One worked by hand from the south and the other, with the aid of a gigantic Hurley overhead track-laying machine, worked from Atlantic. Favored by unusually good weather this work was completed on December 29, 1910, when the two

gangs met. The "Silver Spike" was driven by President H. S. Rattenborg at 3:10 P. M., one and one-half miles south of Grant, a station about fifteen miles north of Villisca.

The event was celebrated amid great rejoicing, felicitations, and banquets. No road ever commenced operating under more auspicious circumstances. The first train, an extra, reached Villisca, on Thursday, December 29, 1910, carrying sixty-three officials and passengers. Regular service was inaugurated on January 1, 1911, the company having on hand three engines, one passenger car, and about fifteen or twenty work cars and freight cars. The construction of this southern extension cost between $500,000 and $600,000. For a while two trains daily were operated on the Villisca division and three on the Kimballton section but in the end it proved a bitter disappointment to its promoters and to the patrons along the line. From the beginning it failed to pay its operating expenses, and after a hectic career of a few short months the road passed into a receivership on May 20, 1911, the entire line being placed in the hands of E. S. Harlan of Atlantic as receiver. He was succeeded by W. A. Follett, also of Atlantic, who kept the road going until December 13, 1914, when it ceased to operate.[15]

On August 9, 1913, the receiver reorganized the original or northern end of the road under the name of the Atlantic Northern Railway Company, and this section of the road is still operating. The name of the southern or Villisca end was changed to the Atlantic Southern Railway Company, with the hope that it too might be rejuvenated. By this time, however, the property had so disintegrated, and the financial involvements were so complicated, that the possibility of maintaining the road with any assurance of success

[15] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1909, p. 262, 1910, p. 272, 1911, p. 224, 1912, p. 232, 1913, p. 274, 1914, pp. 270, 271.

seemed altogether improbable. Further financing being out of the question the property was deeded to Robert Ables of St. Louis, who, upon authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission, removed the track in 1916 and the road passed into history.[16]

The Boone Valley Railroad.— The Boone Valley Railway Company was organized in 1894 by interests of the Boone Valley Coal Company. This company owned property on both sides of the Des Moines River surrounding the town of Fraser, which is located on the east side of the Des Moines River about ten miles above the city of Boone. By constructing a line of railroad three miles in length the company hoped to give its property and the town of Fraser connections with the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad — Minnesota and Iowa Southern — at a place known as Fraser Junction, near the present site of the town of Wolf, where the present Fort Dodge, Des Moines and Southern crosses the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad.

The Boone Valley Railroad was taken over by the Marshalltown and Dakota Railway Company in 1899 and the following year was extended a distance of nineteen miles to the town of Gowrie. The Fraser end of the line was subsequently pushed east a short distance beyond Fraser for the purpose of tapping new coal fields, but no further extension towards Marshalltown was attempted. In 1903 the entire property was acquired by the Newton and Northwestern. The Fraser stub was leased to the Boone Coal and Mining Company in 1904.

On March 31, 1909, the Newton and Northwestern was acquired by the Fort Dodge, Des Moines and Southern Railroad and was subsequently electrified, the Fraser stub being operated until about 1911, when because of the failure

[16] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1917, p. viii.

of the coal fields on the east side of the river the line was abandoned and the track removed.[17]

Cedar Valley Branch, Cedar Rapids and Clinton Railroad.— The Cedar Rapids and Clinton Railway Company was organized on November 28, 1882, for the purpose of taking over the property of the defunct Chicago, Clinton and Western Railway Company. This transaction was consummated in February, 1883, and the Cedar Rapids and Clinton Company assumed control of 23.5 miles of line built by the earlier company, extending from Clinton to Noel, and 9.3 miles from Iowa City to Elmira. The following year the new owners succeeded in completing the line between Clinton and Iowa City, 79.2 miles in length. The same year, 1884, a short branch line was completed from Plato Junction south to the Cedar Valley Stone Quarry, 2.74 miles in length.

An extensive quarrying and lime burning industry sprang up at the end of this branch and for a time was the life of a flourishing village of happy, industrious people. As many as ten or twelve trains daily ran out of the quarry during the busy season, and though regular train service was never maintained, the stub was listed in reports as a regular branch line. Later the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern Railway Company assumed control of the Cedar Rapids and Clinton line, under leasehold, which in 1902 was in turn transferred to the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company when the latter road gained control of the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern Railroad.

In time the prosperity of the quarrying industry at Cedar Valley waned, concrete construction having largely

[17] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1894, p. 102, 1896, p. 239, 1900, p. 324, 1903, p. 181. For additional information on this road see the account of the Newton and Northwestern Railroad in this article.

superseded heavy stone masonry. After the closing of the quarries service on the stub was discontinued, the last train to be operated over the branch was run in 1918, and one of Iowa's most romantic and picturesque industries came to a close. Huge blocks of uncut stone may still be seen scattered about on the river banks at Cedar Valley as though dropped there by some giant's hand, and the serpent-like trail of the old railroad grade may be easily traced along the west bank of the Cedar River, all the way up to Plato, mute evidence of the tireless energy of a former generation of earnest, capable craftsmen. Much of the track was never removed.[18]

Muchakinock Branch, Central Railroad Company of Iowa.— The Central Railroad Company of Iowa was organized in June, 1869, for the purpose of creating a north and south line of railroad across the State of Iowa. This was accomplished by acquiring and consolidating the property of the Iowa River Railway Company with the projected St. Louis and St. Paul Railway Company which had graded about twenty-three miles to the north of Ackley, and another projected line known as the Iowa Central Railroad Company which had graded about sixty miles in the southern portion of the State. Additional track was constructed under the name of the Iowa Valley Construction Company as well as under its own name, so that by October 10, 1871, the road owned and operated a continuous stretch of railroad from Albia, on the southern border of the State, to Northwood near the northern border, a total of 189.14 miles, and in addition operated a branch line from Given to Muchakinock in Mahaska County, 1.5 miles in length.

Because of the default of interest on its first and second mortgage bonds, J. B. Grinnell, of Grinnell, Iowa, was ap-

[18] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1896, p. 184.

pointed receiver in 1873, and in 1875 the road was acquired by the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company under foreclosure. After the foreclosure sale, the Central Iowa Railway Company was organized on May 15, 1879, to take over and operate the property. This company in turn passed into a receivership on December 1, 1886, and fell into the hands of the Iowa Central Railway Company, now a part of the Minneapolis and St. Louis system, which was organized on May 15, 1889, for the purpose of taking over the defunct road.

The Muchakinock Branch, which served extensive coal fields, was maintained in operation until about 1900, when upon the failure of the coal fields it was abandoned and removed with the permission of the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners.[19]

Chicago, Anamosa and Northern Railroad.— The Iowa Midland Railway Company was organized on March 2, 1870, to construct a line of railroad across Iowa, starting at Lyons, Clinton County, passing through Maquoketa to Anamosa, and thence in a northwesterly direction to some undetermined point, probably Cedar Falls. The company was successful in completing a line from Lyons to Anamosa in 1871, but on account of financial stringency could build no farther at that time. This line was afterwards acquired by the Chicago Northwestern Railway Company on October 24, 1884, and operated by it as a branch, thus, for the time, blighting the railroad prospects of the towns farther to the northwest.

After periodic agitations by these towns for a railroad, a company was organized in 1904 under the name of the Chicago, Anamosa and Northern Railroad Company. The

[19] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1882, pp. 468–481, 1884, p. 45, 1896, pp. 222–225.

following year this company succeeded in opening a line as far as Coggon, a distance of 19.6 miles. This road was constructed, operated, and owned largely by stockholders of the Midland Railway Construction Company of Dubuque, and it was hoped that they might succeed in inducing the Northwestern to take over their line and extend it on to Waterloo through Quasqueton, a prosperous inland town on the Wapsipinicon River in Buchanan County. Times, however, had changed the viewpoint of the large systems toward branch lines, which had come to be recognized as a liability rather than an asset; and the Northwestern would do nothing concerning the matter. In 1913, by herculean efforts, the Chicago, Anamosa and Northern extended its line from Coggon to Quasqueton, a distance of 14.1 miles, making a total mileage operated of 33.7 miles.

This effort, however, was too much for the road, and left it so impaired financially that it failed, passing into the hands of G. E. Farmer, receiver, on February 21, 1914. The line was operated under the receivership until November 20, 1915. After the usual hearings and litigation, it was finally sold by order of the court to Herman Sonker, of Kansas City, Missouri, on December 12, 1916. The new owner dismantled it for its junk value during the latter part of 1917.[20]

Chicago, Fort Madison and Des Moines Railroad.— The Fort Madison and Northwestern Railway Company was organized in 1879 with the following officers: President, John Atlee; Vice President, H. Ketchum; Secretary, F. D. Harney; and Treasurer, S. B. Kenrick. On October 16th of that year, it purchased a narrow gauge (3 feet) line,

[20] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1905, p. 3, 1908, p. 199, 1914, p. v, 1915, p. viii, 1917, pp. viii–25; *Records of the Statistical Department of the Board of Railroad Commissioners.*

which had previously been built from Fort Madison, Lee County, to West Point, a distance of 12 miles, paying "forty thousand dollars for the whole concern, including road-bed, right of way, iron, locomotives, cars, buildings, etc., with all other appendages thereto". By 1883 this line had been extended to Birmingham, a distance of 41 miles, and two years later to McKee — afterwards called Collett Station — 45.067 miles from Fort Madison.

Soon afterwards the Fort Madison and Northwestern passed into the hands of a receiver and in March, 1890, was sold under foreclosure to W. T. Block, who took possession in April, that year, and immediately transferred the property to the Chicago, Fort Madison and Des Moines Railway Company organized under the laws of the State of Iowa for that purpose. On taking over the property it was found to be in such a run-down condition as to be unsafe to operate, and the new company immediately set about rebuilding the line and widening it to standard gauge. This work was done by the Western Construction Company during the years of 1891-1892, and by the end of 1892 the line had been extended a distance of five miles to the town of Libertyville, in Jefferson County. It was completed into Ottumwa, 71 miles from Fort Madison, in 1893.

The Chicago, Fort Madison and Des Moines Railway Company was finally absorbed by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy System, whose main line closely paralleled the Fort Madison line from a point about 1.5 miles east of Batavia where the two roads crossed each other, all the way on into Ottumwa. When the Burlington completed its double track system across Iowa, it tied the Fort Madison Branch into its main line at Batavia, constructing about 1.5 miles of new track east from Batavia in so doing. About the year 1901 it tore up about 16.55 miles of the west end of the old Chicago, Fort Madison and Des Moines line, on

which were two unimportant stations, Bladensburg and Yampa (or Tunis), but no serious objections were made to the change.[21]

Phildia Branch, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad.— The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company was organized on May 5, 1863, and by 1880 had grown, largely through the gradual acquisition of many small, independent lines, into a great railroad system, spreading a net-work of track throughout the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. Early in 1881 this company decided to make a bid for a share of the transcontinental business originating at the "Omaha Gateway". Accordingly a line was projected across Iowa from Sabula on the Mississippi River to Council Bluffs on the Missouri.

This Omaha Division was built in the most matter of fact manner imaginable. No favors were asked, none were shown. Land grants, bonuses, local tax bonds, or subscriptions for stock were not sought, up to this time an unheard of procedure in railroad construction. When the surveyors for the road were asked what towns would be touched, they laconically replied, "Omaha", and today this line, for its entire distance across Iowa, does not pass through a single county seat town.

When the valley of the Des Moines River was reached in the northeast corner of Dallas County, a sharp swerve down stream was made in order to reduce the cost of bridging the Des Moines on a high level. After crossing the river the line swerved north again to its original course near the Des Moines River. The town of Phildia was established between the stations of Madrid and Woodward.

[21] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1880, p. 550, 1883, p. 508, 1885, p. 467, 1890, p. 425, 1891, pp. 223, 723, 1892, p. 225, 1893, p. 106, 1900, p. 334, 1901, p. 118.

In 1909 when the road was straightened and double-tracked across Iowa, a cut-off 5.5 miles in length was built over a high bridge across the Des Moines, several miles to the north of the original line. Soon afterwards the old track between Madrid and Phildia was removed, but the track between Woodward and Phildia, 4.37 miles in length, remained in operation as a branch line until 1923, when it also was abandoned and dismantled.[22]

Estherville Branch, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad.— Soon after the close of the Civil War a land grant was made by Congress to aid in the construction of the McGregor and Western Railroad Company's line across northern Iowa from the Mississippi River to South Dakota. The property of this line, while yet in an embryonic stage, passed into the hands of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad Company which, by the autumn of 1878, succeeded in completing the line through Mason City, Algona, and Emmetsburg as far west as Spencer.

Intense rivalry sprang up in this portion of the State between the Milwaukee system and the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern, a newcomer in the field, which had strong backing by both the Burlington and the Rock Island systems. When it was seen that the Dakota extension of the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern was to be built across the tracks of the Milwaukee at Emmetsburg and proceed on north toward Estherville, the Milwaukee road immediately decided to build a parallel and competing line from Emmetsburg to Estherville, and began construction at once with the view of finishing its line first.

After battling its competitor in one of the most interesting "crossing wars" in the history of railroad building in

[22] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1896, p. 208, 1923, p. x.

Iowa, the Milwaukee succeeded in completing its line into Estherville a day or two ahead of its rival by laying rails on ties six or seven feet apart.[23]

The race had stimulated public interest, and on April 17, 1882, the town council of Estherville appropriated the sum of $180 to be used for the purchase of depot grounds for the Milwaukee line "which was soon to be completed". This site was subsequently purchased and donated to the Milwaukee Company, which continued to operate its branch trains into Estherville for a period of seven years or until August, 1889. At this time the line found itself unable to operate its Estherville Branch without loss since it was in direct competition with a main line railroad which was enabled by its through business to render superior service. The branch line was, therefore, abandoned and the tracks dismantled. The old grade lies to the east of the present Rock Island line, closely paralleling this line all the way up to Estherville.[24]

Lime Kiln Branch, Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad.— In 1883 the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company contemplated building a branch line running north from Wilton Junction on their main line to Tipton, the county seat of Cedar County, a distance of about 15 miles. This would give Tipton an outlet on the south to the main line of the Rock Island and a direct connection at Muscatine with the Southwest Division of that road.

M. G. Mills, the owner of a limestone quarry about six miles northwest of Wilton Junction, was anxious to secure

[23] *Emmet County and Dickinson County History* (Pioneer Publishing Company), Vol. I, pp. 169, 170.

[24] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1882, p. 177, 1889, p. 44, 1890, p. 22.

railroad facilities for his industry, and entered into an agreement with the railway company to acquire and furnish the right of way, gratis, if the railroad would build the line. This he did and in the spring of 1883, he incorporated the United States Lime Company and erected lime kilns to which the Rock Island built its track. The following year this track was extended three-fourths of a mile to the property of the Sugar Creek Lime Company.

The village of Lime City sprang up about this quarrying industry and in due time acquired a post office. During the following twenty years an average of nearly 500 cars of freight a year was derived from this branch. Most of this was stone and lime, but at times grain, livestock, lumber, and other commodities were shipped in considerable quantities. The Sugar Creek Lime Company alone furnished over $30,000 in revenue during five years of the operation of this branch road.

For some reason the line was never extended to Tipton and little or no improvements or repairs were made on the property. By 1900 the ties and bridges had so deteriorated as to become unsafe for locomotives, and the railroad company refused flatly to risk engines on the line. For three years, 1901–1903, W. L. Johnson, then owner of the lime industry, attempted to haul the cars to and from the quarries by means of horses, but this method proved impracticable and unsatisfactory, and so on March 4, 1904, he filed a complaint with the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners asking that the Rock Island be compelled to recondition the track and furnish him with the original service.

The railroad company replied that it would require an outlay of about $12,000 to repair the track and place it in safe operating condition, and that there was not sufficient business in sight to warrant so great an expense. The Rock Island offered to sell the property to Mr. Johnson, allowing

him to make his own repairs, and agreed to enter into a reasonable arrangement for switching as soon as the track was made safe. The company also claimed that it was under no legal obligation to operate or maintain a side or stub track of this character at a constant loss, and requested a hearing before the Commissioners at which all of the facts might be set forth.

Johnson also brought suit against the Rock Island in the district court of Muscatine County to compel the company by writ of mandamus to reinstate the service. The Board of Railroad Commissioners had considerable correspondence in regard to the case, hearing both sides "exhaustively", but before a conclusion had been reached they were advised that the parties had reached an amicable adjustment of their differences and the track was removed in 1907. It is not known whether or not any regular train service was ever inaugurated on this branch or whether trips were made only as occasion warranted.[25]

Creston, Winterset and Des Moines Railroad.— The town of Macksburg, Madison County, was a long distance from a railroad. Consequently little difficulty was encountered in securing a large subscription for the purchase of stock in 1909 when it was proposed that an electric interurban line, between Des Moines and Creston via Winterset and Macksburg, be built under the name of the Des Moines, Winterset and Creston Electric Railway Company. People of other communities also subscribed liberally.

For some reason the plans were changed and the line was finally constructed as a steam railroad under the name, Creston, Winterset and Des Moines Railway Company. The road was completed from Creston to the plateau, West

[25] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1906, pp. 299–305, 1907, p. 5.

Macksburg, a mile west of the town of Macksburg, by December 31, 1912, and built on in across the ravine to Macksburg about a year later — a total distance of 20.72 miles. The road cost in round numbers a third of a million dollars, and was financed by the issue of $98,600 in stock actually subscribed and paid for, and a 6 per cent, first mortgage bond issue of $200,000, handled by the Iowa Bond and Security Company. No interest was ever paid on these bonds. Almost the entire line was laid with 60 and 65 pound steel rails. The company purchased two engines, one combination way car, three flat cars, two grain cars, four work cars (two center and two side dump), and a steam shovel. The original service consisted of two mixed trains daily each way.

Beginning operations with a financial handicap which no road might reasonably expect to overcome, the line passed into the hands of Clarence E. Wilson, receiver, in July, 1914. The operation of the line was continued for a time in the hope that it might at least be completed as far as Winterset where connections for Des Moines could be had with the Rock Island. It was even thought that in such an event the Rock Island might be induced to take over the operation of the road. During the receivership and the period just preceding, the sum of $30,000 additional was spent. To this fund nearly $10,000 in cash was contributed by farmers and other interested parties along the line for a continuance of the road.

Reorganization having failed, the property was finally sold by order of the United States District Court to Ralph H. Beaton and S. Ornstine of Columbus, Ohio, who in turn sold the steel and equipment to a Chicago junk dealer, who had about six miles of the track removed before he was restrained from further dismantling of the property by Attorney General Horace M. Havner. After a legal battle

in the courts, in which the purchaser was successful, the dismantling was completed in 1918.[26]

Crooked Creek Railroad.— In 1876 the Crooked Creek Railway and Coal Company, a corporation composed of seven stockholders, constructed a narrow gauge railroad from Judd, Webster County, a station on the Illinois Central Railroad, south to the town of Lehigh, situated at the mouth of Crooked Creek on the west bank of the Des Moines River, a distance of about eight miles.[27] The purpose of this road was to tap extensive coal fields in the vicinity of Lehigh, and subsequent extensions to the various mine shafts soon increased the mileage to 9.7 miles. The road began operation with one engine, one combination passenger car, twenty-eight coal cars, three other cars, and no telegraph. The road became a standard gauge line by November 8, 1880.

In 1887 the Crooked Creek line leased and began operating the Webster City and Southwestern Railroad Company's property which had just been constructed from Webster City to Border Plains, a station on the Crooked Creek line about two and one-half miles above the town of Lehigh. This gave the Crooked Creek line 13.5 additional miles of track, the total being given as 23.27 miles. On July 12, 1890, the Crooked Creek railroad purchased the leased line at a sheriff's sale for $85,000. Soon afterwards that part of the original line running between Border Plains and Judd, a distance of 5.66 miles, was abandoned and removed, leaving in operation only 17.61 miles from the end of the line at Lehigh to Webster City.

[26] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1913, p. v, 1914, p. v, 1917, p. 309, 1919, p. vi.

[27] Auditor's map of Webster County, Webster County Courthouse, Fort Dodge, Iowa.

In 1917 a complete rearrangement was made in the operation of the old Crooked Creek and Webster City lines, the property being taken over by the Des Moines, Fort Dodge and Southern Electric Railway. That part of the Webster City and Southwestern track between Border Plains and Brushy Station for a distance of nearly three miles was abandoned and a new road was built between Brushy Station and Fort Dodge. This new line together with the Webster City end of the Webster City and Southwestern goes to make up the present Webster City Branch of the Des Moines, Fort Dodge and Southern, and electric cars are now operated directly between these two cities.

From a point where the newly constructed electric line intersected the old grade running between Border Plains and Judd, a track was relaid along the old grade south to Border Plains where it connected with the Lehigh end of the old Crooked Creek line. This was electrified and together with the relaid track goes to make up the Lehigh Branch of the Des Moines, Fort Dodge and Southern Railway, the new arrangement meeting the needs of the respective communities much better than the old. Many switches and stubs have since been constructed along the new electric interurban to accommodate the gypsum industry.[28]

Davenport, Iowa and Dakota Railroad.— The Davenport, Iowa and Dakota Railway Company began the construction of a railroad from Davenport to a point near Bennett, about 1886. Here it was to cross the tracks of the Cedar Rapids and Clinton Railway Company. In 1890 the line was leased to the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern Railway Company, which had obtained control of the Cedar

[28] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1879, p. 402, 1881, p. 313, 1887, p. 372, 1891, p. 364, 1892, p. 399, 1900, p. 349, 1904, p. 80, 1917, p. viii.

Rapids and Clinton line under leasehold. Henceforth it operated the line from Bennett to Davenport as a part of the Davenport Division.

In 1902 the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company acquired control of the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern and "all its holden roads", which of course included the original Davenport, Iowa and Dakota line. This line crossed over the main line of the Rock Island at the station of Stockton sixteen miles west of the city of Davenport, and then followed a circuitous route of 17.15 miles through the town of Blue Grass into Davenport. When the Davenport and Muscatine Electric Interurban was constructed it also passed directly through the town of Blue Grass giving direct connection with Davenport. The interurban, furnishing more frequent and convenient service, soon had nearly all of the passenger business and a fair share of the freight business out of Blue Grass leaving the Rock Island with a number of miles of nearly useless track on its hands. It was obvious to all that the traffic on the remainder of the line might be better served by tieing it into the main line at Stockton than by following the older, rather poorly maintained track into Davenport via Blue Grass.

The Rock Island, however, stoically continued to operate the Blue Grass line until 1925 when it petitioned the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners for permission to remove the track from Stockton on into Davenport, representing that the interests of the citizens of Blue Grass would be served just as well by the interurban. A hearing was held at which there was considerable objection to the abandonment, but the Commissioners ruled in favor of the Rock Island and permitted the removal of the tracks between Stockton and Davenport. This was done during the summer of 1926 and the name of Blue Grass has now dis-

appeared from the long list of places served by the Rock Island System.[29]

Farmers Union Railroad.— The Farmers Union Railroad Company was organized on March 22, 1875, by John W. Tripp, who had been a successful business man at Albion and had laid out the town of Liscomb. Having made considerable money out of his town site venture and wishing to boom the town further, he conceived the idea of building an east and west railroad across the State through Liscomb, intersecting the north and south line of the Central of Iowa at that place. The route proposed was to start at some point on the Mississippi River and to pass west through Mapleton, Ida County, to the Missouri River.

The company engaged a civil engineer, who did some preliminary surveying with the aid of some volunteer assistance en route, and the project was under way. Mr. Tripp was energetic, did grading both east and west of Liscomb, and soon succeeded in putting into operation a narrow gauge, wooden rail track from a sawmill near the Iowa River west of Liscomb through Conrad Grove — now Conrad — to the town site of Beaman, a distance of about twelve miles. From there the route was laid out to Grundy Center, and some grading was done on that end of the line. Grading was also done west of Liscomb.

A single engine, a caboose, and some freight cars made up the equipment of the road which was in operation for a few months, during which time the towns of Conrad and Beaman grew quite rapidly. Further extension of the road was pushed, taxes were voted at various places, and a right of way was secured from the town of Traer as far west as the Des Moines River. About this time Mr. Tripp was

[29] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1890, p. 99, 1891, p. 311, 1925, pp. 31, 32. See also the historical sketch of the Cedar Rapids and Clinton Railroad in this article.

seriously injured in a railroad accident, when a car in which he was riding left the track and tumbled down a steep embankment. He was so incapacitated as to be unable to attend to his business, and this soon brought on financial troubles. The Farmers Union Railroad Company, of which he seemed to be the most important member, soon went into the discard. The ties and track being wholly of wood soon rotted out and the road was no more.

The road was of no economic importance, but is historically important as being the first line in Iowa to be abandoned. It appears on the railroad map of the State, issued in 1878.[30]

Iowa, Minnesota and Northern Pacific Railroad.— A local company, called the Jasper County Coal and Railroad Company, was organized in 1871, with F. H. Griggs as president. Its purpose was the construction of a railroad from the town of Newton, Jasper County, to the mining district three or four miles south of Newton in which Mr. Griggs was heavily interested. The same year the Chicago, Newton and Southwestern Railroad Company was organized and agreed to build the line without bonus.[31]

About the same time another road was projected under the name of the Iowa, Minnesota and Northern Pacific Railroad, with a capital of $12,000,000. This line was surveyed as far north as Webster City. Much litigation between the two corporations ensued over the question as to the legality and propriety of a coal company owning a right of way through the town of Newton. The Iowa, Minnesota and Northern Pacific had little cash for actual construction

[30] Battin and Moscrip's *Past and Present of Marshall County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 204.

[31] *The History of Jasper County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, 1878), pp. 434, 435.

and matters drifted along, the project remaining in a dormant condition until 1875, when Hornish, Davis and Company, contractors, assigned their contract to the Iowa and Minnesota Construction Company, organized for the purpose of reviving the line. The coal company accepted $35,000 in bonds of the road in return for their rights and franchises. By December, 1876, the company was successful in completing the track between Newton and Monroe, a distance of seventeen miles, and "thus ended the much-talked-of great northwestern thoroughfare to the lake region of the upper Mississippi river and the thundering cataract of St. Anthony Falls".[32]

The road was involved in financial difficulties from its beginning and on August 4, 1877, President Briggs incorporated the Newton and Monroe Railroad Company for the purpose of acquiring and operating the insolvent Iowa, Minnesota and Northern Pacific Railroad. The entire property was consolidated with the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway on June 2, 1880, being thereafter operated as the Newton and Monroe Branch.

From the beginning the branch scarcely met its operating expenses and since the advent of the automobile it was operated at a constant loss, so in January, 1926, after a half century of continuous service, the Rock Island announced its intention of abandoning the south end of the road, a distance of seven miles between Reasnor and Monroe. The consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission was secured, and train service ceased soon afterwards. An accommodation train is now operated between Reasnor and Newton. The track to the south of Reasnor, between Reasnor and Monroe, is at present in a state of disuse.[33]

[32] Weaver's *Past and Present of Jasper County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 112.

[33] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1880, p. 411, 1896, p. 211.

Iowa Northern Railroad.— The Wisconsin, Iowa and Nebraska Railway Company, which afterwards became a part of the Great Western Railroad Company, was incorporated on December 1, 1881, and built through from Waterloo to Des Moines, in the direction of Kansas City. In 1883, this road constructed a "stub" from Valeria to the Oswald coal mines in Jasper County, 3.20 miles in length, which it listed for a time as a branch line.[34] The Oswald Branch was built mainly for the purpose of tapping the coal fields in the vicinity of Colfax and was taken over by the Iowa Northern Railway Company which was organized on February 7, 1882. The new company completed the line from Colfax through Oswald to Valeria in 1885, 5.93 miles in length.

For several years, train service was maintained between Colfax and Valeria, where connection was made with the Kansas City Division of the Chicago Great Western Railway. Only mixed trains, however, were employed, these being operated by telephone as early as 1885, when there were some six miles of wire in use. Later this road was employed chiefly by the coal mining industry and was taken over by the Colfax Northern Railroad Company, which was organized for that purpose, the tracks being extended five miles south from Colfax to Seevers Mine with branches from No. 8 Junction to Shaft No. 8, 2.41 miles in length, and from Jule Junction to Black Crook Mine, a distance of one mile. Other stubs and switches were built as occasion warranted.

On May 19, 1912, the name was changed from the Colfax Northern Railroad Company to the Colfax Northern Railway Company, and about that time the track between Colfax and Valeria was abandoned and removed. Operation of the road south of Colfax was continued for a time when the mines were running, but no semblance of regular service

[34] *Iowa Railroad Map*, 1884.

was maintained. Only such trains were "put through" as were needed to "haul out" the coal and in transporting the miners back and forth from their homes in Colfax to the mines. Most of these shafts were exhausted by 1925, and early the following year the company asked the permission of the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners to remove their tracks. Final approval was obtained from the Interstate Commerce Commission on April 12, 1926. Soon afterwards the road was dismantled and passed out of existence.[35]

The Iowa Northern Railroad.— Articles of incorporation for the Iowa Northern Railway Company were filed with the Secretary of State on June 10, 1912. As stated by these articles, "the terminus of said railway shall be on the south in Bellevue, Jackson County, Iowa, and said road shall run in a west and northerly direction through Jackson, Dubuque and Clayton Counties, with a northern terminus at Turkey River, Clayton County, Iowa."

After heroic efforts, five miles of road between the towns of Dyersville and New Vienna were finally completed in the fall of 1914. This was largely financed by wealthy farmers living near the latter place. Train service was begun, but owing to the temporary condition of the track and grade, it had to be abandoned the following spring, having remained in operation about six months.[36]

The road never resumed operation and after the statutory time limit the property owners abutting the right of way reclaimed their land and again put it under cultivation. In 1919, S. G. Durant, who was still the owner of this road,

[35] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1884, p. 453, 1885, pp. 361–367, 1892, p. 487, 1896, pp. 216, 225, 1912, p. 289.

[36] Letter from A. C. Link to the writer, dated Dyersville, Iowa, December 11, 1926.

took up the rails and ties along the line and shipped them out of the country. On June 1, 1920, the articles of incorporation were cancelled by the Attorney General for failure to file the prescribed annual reports.[37]

Iowa and Omaha Short Line Railroad.— The Iowa and Omaha Short Line Railway Company was organized in 1912 under the laws of the State of South Dakota for the purpose of constructing a short line of railway from the town of Treynor, in Pottawattamie County, to connect with the Wabash Railway Company at Neoga, a station about five miles out of Council Bluffs. From this point trackage was leased into Council Bluffs over the Wabash.

In 1912 the company reported to the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners that it owned 13.38 miles of standard gauge road, which was reduced a quarter of a mile by remeasurement the following year. This mileage was further reduced a mile in the report of 1915 by a reclassification of the track in the yards at Neoga, leaving main line mileage of 12.12 miles after that date.

From the beginning the road did not pay operating expenses, and it ceased running trains on June 30, 1916. By order of the court, it was sold on November 1, 1916, to E. A. Wickham of Council Bluffs for the sum of $21,500. It was alleged that Mr. Wickham stated to the court that he would make an attempt to reopen the road, but this was never done. In October, 1917, the steel was sold to a St. Louis firm which immediately removed it, thereby completing the dismantlement of the line.

Considerable controversy arose concerning the reversion of the right of way property of the defunct line to the original owners, which was not settled finally for a number of

[37] Record Book, F-5, p. 281, in the office of the Secretary of State, Des Moines.

years. The road was of small economic importance, except to the citizens of Treynor, and even this loss has been largely mitigated by the coming of the auto-truck and an excellent highway to Council Bluffs. Much of the money for the construction of the road was obtained by the sale of stock to the farmers and citizens of Treynor. Needless to say they lost their entire investment.[38]

Iowa and Southwestern Railroad.— On several occasions during the railroad building epoch in southwestern Iowa, College Springs, a thriving inland village in Page County, missed the boon of securing railroad facilities by a narrow margin. In fact one railroad bearing the name of the town, the Clarinda, College Springs and Southwestern, was built and is today operated as a part of the Burlington system, never getting nearer College Springs than six miles. Naturally the citizens of the town felt the need of direct railroad connections with the outside world and from the beginning were ambitious to secure a railroad of their own. Many citizens of Clarinda had also always felt that their city was handicapped materially by the fact that they had no road competing with the Burlington and that an irreparable mistake had been made when the old Clarinda and St. Louis line was allowed to go under in 1890. They were, therefore, eager to assist in the construction of a line connecting their city with the Wabash at Blanchard via College Springs.

This road was built in 1912-1913, Suggart and Barnes Brothers of Des Moines performed the grading and the firm of Ables and Taussig of St. Louis furnished most of the ties and timber, filing a mechanics' lien for the money

[38] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1912, pp. vi, 241, 1913, p. v, 1915, p. ix, 1918, p. vi; report of the Iowa and Omaha Short Line Railroad, 1916, on file at the State House, Des Moines.

due them upon the completion of the road. The company was not able to satisfy this lien, and Ables and Taussig commenced foreclosure proceedings and secured a judgment against the road in the United States District Court of the Southern District of Iowa. Execution was issued on April 24, 1915, and the United States Marshal sold all of the property of the road, excepting some of the equipment which was specifically excepted in the bid, for the sum of $20,000, the certificates being issued for Mr. Barnes with a redemption period of one year.

Before the year of redemption expired on April 24, 1916, these certificates were assigned to the Western Tie and Timber Company of St. Louis. Later the Western Tie and Timber Company sold the property to W. S. Farquhar, J. W. McKinley, I. H. Taggart, G. W. Richardson, A. A. Berry, A. M. Abbott, A. F. Galloway, and Wm. Orr, as individuals. On December 26, 1916, an execution was issued upon a judgment rendered on a third mechanics' lien and all of the property of the Iowa and Southwestern Railway Company that was not sold under the sale of April 24, 1915, was disposed of at this time, leaving the road from this date with neither property nor assets. Operation of trains ceased on December 31, 1916, the line being abandoned and dismantled the following year. College Springs was thus deprived of railroad advantages, perhaps for all time to come, and Clarinda's ambitions of maintaining direct railroad connections with the Wabash were again blasted.[39]

Keithsburg, Grinnell and Dakota Railroad.— The Keithsburg, Grinnell and Dakota Railway Company was organized on February 11, 1880, and by March, 1881, 26.64 miles of

[39] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1913, pp. v, 284, 1918, p. vi; report of the Iowa and Southwestern Railway Company, 1916, made to the Board of Railroad Commissioners.

track had been constructed between Newburg, Jasper County, and State Center, Marshall County. The property of this line was purchased by the Central Iowa Railway Company on January 1, 1882, and was in turn taken over by the Iowa Central Railway Company, organized on May 15, 1889, to absorb the property of the Central of Iowa which had passed into the hands of a receiver in 1886.

After January 1, 1912, the Iowa Central became a part of the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad system and this company assumed the responsibility of operating all of the numerous lateral "feeder" lines of the former road. Among these was the State Center Branch, the further end of which terminated in a veritable network of strong roads, such as the Chicago Northwestern, the Chicago Great Western, and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, lines rendering every degree of service required by the communities contiguous thereto.

Expensive crossings had to be maintained over the two latter roads, so from the beginning of its ownership, the Minneapolis and St. Louis found it impossible to operate that part of the line beyond Van Cleve without loss. To avoid this, it petitioned the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners to grant permission to remove the 10.46 miles of track between Van Cleve and the end of the line at State Center. This permission was granted and the track was removed in 1925.[40]

Keokuk, Fort Des Moines and Minnesota Railroad.— In 1858 the State of Iowa granted to the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines and Minnesota Railway Company certain lands to aid in the construction of a railroad from Keokuk, up along the valley of the Des Moines River, through the city of Des

[40] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1896, p. 225, 1912, p. 282, 1925, p. 264.

Moines, to the northern border of the State. On June 3, 1864, the name of this company was changed to Des Moines Valley Railroad Company. Additional legislation was passed in 1864, and in 1868, 100,000 acres were specifically set aside for building a railroad between Des Moines and Fort Dodge. The date of completion was fixed at 1870.

The line being finally completed, the company received the land grant. Four years later, on November 10, 1873, a mortgage on the road was foreclosed, the property falling into the hands of a new company which was organized for the purpose under the name of the Des Moines and Fort Dodge Railroad Company.

Beginning in September, 1878, the Des Moines and Fort Dodge Company dismantled that portion of the line running from a point east of Tara into the city limits of Fort Dodge, a distance of six miles. Connections for the benefit of the Fort Dodge patrons were then made over the Iowa Falls and Sioux City Railroad, operated under leasehold by the Illinois Central, whose main line west of Fort Dodge paralleled the piece of track which was abandoned by the Des Moines and Fort Dodge road.

In 1887 the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company acquired the Des Moines and Fort Dodge property under leasehold. The residents of Fort Dodge soon became dissatisfied with the service rendered and filed a complaint with the Board of Railroad Commissioners in August, 1888, petitioning for a reopening of the old line running out to Tara. They claimed that since this branch had been built under land grant the railroad companies had no moral or legal right to dismantle it.

On May 3, 1889, the Railroad Commissioners ordered that the branch be rebuilt and the original service restored, the installation to be completed by November 1, 1889. The railroad appealed from this decision to the district court.

The action of the Commissioners was sustained by a decision rendered by Judge S. M. Weaver of Webster County, whereupon the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific appealed the case to the Iowa Supreme Court, which reversed the ruling of the inferior court, the opinion being rendered on January 30, 1892.[41]

This line has never been replaced but the old grade is easily discernible, running along the south side of the Illinois Central right of way from Tara, all the way down to Fort Dodge. For a large part of the distance both grades occupy the same ravine to a point where the two grades cross each other within the western limits of the city of Fort Dodge. There were no intervening stations, and at the present all trains of the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad which now operates the old Des Moines and Fort Dodge line enter Fort Dodge over the Illinois Central track from Tara, the passenger trains using the Illinois Central depot, thus eliminating any dissatisfaction or cause for controversy. These trains return again to Tara and proceed to Des Moines if south bound, or to Ruthven, to which point the line was extended in 1882, if north bound.

While economically of small importance, this case of abandonment was one of the most important in Iowa history. It came early, and was hard fought both in the courts and before the Commission, and has wielded much influence over subsequent decisions, setting a precedent which has been followed both in this State and others.[42]

Coalville Branch, Mason City and Fort Dodge Railroad. — In 1886 the Mason City and Fort Dodge Railroad Company completed its line from Mason City to Lehigh through

[41] State *v.* Des Moines and Fort Dodge Railway Company, 84 Iowa 419.

[42] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1892, p. 212; *Laws of Iowa,* 1858, Ch. 99, 1864, Ch. 108, 1868, Ch. 57.

Fort Dodge, a distance of 88 miles, crossing over the tracks of the Illinois Central Railroad near a station called Carbon Junction, about four miles east of Fort Dodge. Some time prior to 1878 the Fort Dodge Coal Company had constructed four miles of standard gauge, stub track from Carbon Junction, almost due south, tapping their coal fields in the vicinity of Coalville, Webster County. The Mason City and Fort Dodge line obtained control of this Coalville stub, four miles in length, in 1886, thereafter listing and operating it as a branch line.

Eventually the Mason City and Fort Dodge road was acquired by the Chicago, Great Western Railroad and Carbon Junction became known on their line as Gypsum Station. The mines in the vicinity of Coalville flourished for many years and in the census of 1910 this village showed a population of 350. Regular train service was operated on that portion of the line between Fort Dodge and Lehigh until the electrification of the Crooked Creek line by the Fort Dodge, Des Moines and Southern Interurban about 1917. The new electric line between Lehigh and Fort Dodge absorbed the greater share of the passenger business, whereupon the Great Western reduced its line to the status of a freight carrier only. As the mines in the vicinity of Coalville were gradually worked out, this branch was shortened by the removal of 1.10 miles of various terminals, and in 1915 upon the complete cession of the mines, the balance of the track between Gypsum and Coalville, 2.90 miles in length, was abandoned and dismantled, leaving the remnant of the former prosperous village of Coalville without train service of any kind.[43]

Kalo Branch, Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad.— The Minneapolis and St. Louis Railway Company was chartered

[43] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1896, p. 226.

by the legislature of the Territory of Minnesota on March 3, 1853, as the Minnesota Western Railroad Company. After a hectic career, involving several changes in name and purpose, the name of the corporation was changed on May 27, 1870, to the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railway Company.

By 1871, the line had been completed from Minneapolis to Merriam Junction, and by 1877 from Merriam Junction to Albert Lea, Minnesota. In 1879 the company began the construction of a line from Albert Lea, southwesterly to Forest City, Iowa, and thence to Fort Dodge. The road was completed to the State line in November, 1879.

The road southward from the State boundary was built under an arrangement with the Minnesota and Iowa Southern Railroad Company and the Fort Dodge and Fort Ridgely Railroad Company. It was completed to Fort Dodge by 1880. In 1882 the Minneapolis and St. Louis extended this line beyond Fort Dodge, in a southwesterly direction to the town of Agnes, a distance of 41.0 miles, and a branch was built from Kalo Junction, a station about four miles below Fort Dodge, to the town of Kalo, and to mines in the vicinity of Kalo, a distance of three miles.

By 1904 the length of this branch had been reduced to 1.46 miles and at the time it was finally abandoned and removed in 1923, only 1.33 miles remained.[44]

Moulton and Albia Railroad.— At the time that the Wabash interests under the name of the Des Moines and St. Louis were building their line between Des Moines, Iowa, and Moberly, Missouri, the Burlington road was also engaged in building into Des Moines from Albia. The Wabash survey indicated a line from Moberly to Moulton,

[44] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1880, pp. 244, 480, 1881, p. 398, 1882, p. 324, 1896, p. 227, 1904, p. 200, 1923, p. x.

Iowa, thence through Moravia and Albia into Des Moines along a route paralleling more or less closely, the Burlington's Des Moines branch. Obviously these two roads were in conflict and a subsidiary line was organized by Burlington interests under the name of the Moulton and Albia Railway Company to build between those two points ahead of the Wabash.

This line, which from the beginning was operated by the Burlington, was completed as far as Moravia, 11.50 miles south of Albia, by June 10, 1880, but for some reason was built no farther. During the same year another line, the Centerville, Moravia and Albia Railroad, which was built as a branch of the Missouri, Iowa and Nebraska Railroad and later known as the Albia and Centerville Railroad Company, was completed between Albia and Centerville by General Francis M. Drake. This road paralleled the Moulton and Albia line all the way from Moravia to Albia. Being the longer line and a hobby of General Drake's and of Russell Sage's who was closely associated with him, it was enabled to furnish much better service than the shorter Burlington line and soon obtained the lion's share of the business. The service on the Burlington line was allowed to deteriorate to such an extent that for a time only tri-weekly trains were run, and then only bi-weekly trains. This unsatisfactory service, together with the condition of the track further depreciated the business on that branch. These trains were dubbed the "try weekly" by the residents along the route. The Wabash line was also looming up from the south, which would mean another competitor in the already overcrowded territory, so the Burlington chose to abandon this piece of track and divert its energy to localities where the promise of adequate returns was more certain.[45]

[45] Hickenlooper's *An Illustrated History of Monroe County, Iowa,* pp. 129–132.

The present Wabash tracks now occupy the old Moulton and Albia grade from Moravia to Hilton Junction, an old coal mining property, at which point the older grade crosses the present line of the Iowa Southern Utilities Interurban, now operating the old "Drake" road, and then parallels the present Interurban and Wabash tracks closely, on the west, all the way into Albia. The Minneapolis and St. Louis coal line into Hocking now also uses about two miles of the old grade immediately south of Albia for main line and storage track purposes. From the city limits on the south of Albia, the old Moulton and Albia grade passed up the center of Fifth Street to a point where it connected with the Burlington main line a few hundred yards to the east of the present Burlington station.[46]

Muscatine North and South Railroad.— The eastern border of Iowa, from the Missouri to the Minnesota line, is formed by the Mississippi River. The western or Iowa shore of this stream was early skirted, for the entire distance, by one or more trunk line railroads, excepting for a stretch of about fifty miles in the counties of Des Moines, Louisa, and Muscatine, between the cities of Burlington and Muscatine. Here the railroads originally did not follow the sinuosities of the river but fell back from six to thirteen miles to the westward, leaving a considerable territory without adequate railroad facilities. Muscatine is also the only point in Iowa of any considerable importance that does not possess railroad connections directly eastward across the Mississippi.

With these facts in mind, the Muscatine North and South Railroad Company was organized on February 15, 1893, under the laws of the State of Iowa. The authorized capital

[46] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1896, pp. 193, 224, 330.

was $10,000,000, and the purpose was to build, own, and operate a single or double track railroad from Muscatine east to Chicago, and west to some point on the Missouri River, and also a railroad bridge across the Mississippi at Muscatine. It was also to build and operate branch lines.[47] By 1899 this corporation had succeeded in constructing 28.67 miles of standard gauge railroad from Muscatine south to Elrick Junction, where a connection was made with the Peoria line of the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railway.[48] A branch line from Main Line Junction to Stewart Road, 0.69 of a mile in length, had also been constructed.

The road, however, did not prosper, and by order of the United States Circuit Court for Iowa it was sold under foreclosure proceedings. It was purchased by a syndicate and transferred by deed on February 8, 1905, to a corporation organized under the name of the Muscatine North and South Railway Company, articles of incorporation being filed with the Secretary of State of Iowa the following day. Under the new management the road was completed south from Oakville to Burlington. Ten miles of track were constructed in 1911, 9.10 miles in 1912, and the balance, 1.68 miles, in 1913, giving the road a connection into Burlington over Rock Island trackage from a point called C. R. I. & P. Junction, about 2.13 miles north of Burlington. Trackage extending 3.90 miles was also secured from the Minneapolis and St. Louis between the stations of Oakville and Elrick Junction. The road was thus enabled to operate its trains through from Burlington to Muscatine, a total distance of 55.48 miles.[49]

[47] Record Book K-2, p. 500, in the office of the Secretary of State, Des Moines.

[48] Richman's *History of Muscatine County, Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 411.

[49] Record Book C-4, p. 269, in the office of the Secretary of State, Des Moines.

Financial reverses again developed, however, and on September 16, 1914, a receiver was appointed by the United States District Court for the Southern District of Iowa. This receiver was succeeded on November 30, 1914, by M. Dailey, appointed by a State district court. This receivership was discharged on October 17, 1916, the company being refinanced under the name of the Muscatine, Burlington and Southern Railroad Company. On July 27, 1916, Theo. W. Krein was appointed receiver for the Muscatine, Burlington and Southern, by the District Court of the Southern District of Iowa and he was succeeded by Arthur Hoffman, who was appointed receiver on March 2, 1923.

Operation of train service became intermittent and finally ceased in June, 1924, as the result of a proceeding before the Interstate Commerce Commission, in which both Commissioner Charles Webster and Judge Henderson participated. This was supplemented by an order of the district court of Muscatine County, and on May 10, 1924, the Interstate Commerce Commission authorized the abandonment of the south 47.77 miles of the line, effective 30 days after date.

About two miles of the north end of the road at Muscatine was retained and has since remained in operation as a switching and transfer railroad, serving the extensive gravel washing operations to the south of the city limits on Muscatine Island. While the road is now legally in a state of abandonment, the rails have never been torn up, and repeated efforts are being made to restore operations on at least a portion of the line.[50]

The Newton and Northwestern Railroad.— The Newton and Northwestern Railroad Company was incorporated under the laws of the State of Iowa late in 1902, for the purpose of building a railroad northwest from the town of

[50] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1899, p. 244.

Newton, Jasper County, intersecting such trunk line railways as the Chicago Great Western, the Chicago, Milwaukee, and the Chicago Northwestern, thereby giving Newton the advantage of a direct connection with these important lines.

By 1904 the road had been completed from Newton, through Boone to Rockwell City, a distance of 102.5 miles. In 1903, during this period of construction, it acquired the property of the Marshalltown and Dakota Railway Company, twenty-one miles in length. In 1899, this company had taken over the line of the Boone Valley Railway Company, built in 1894 from the mining town of Fraser on the east side of the Des Moines River about ten miles above the city of Boone, to Fraser Junction on the west bank of the Des Moines River, a distance of 3.00 miles, extending their line nineteen miles beyond to the town of Gowrie in 1900. The original three mile stub, between the town of Fraser and Fraser Junction, was leased to the Boone Coal and Mining Company in 1904.

In 1906 a branch line, 4.10 miles in length, was built from Goddard, the second station northwest of Newton, to the town of Colfax, and added to the system, giving a total mileage of 106.6 miles. It seems that this branch line from Goddard to Colfax was owned by the Fort Dodge, Des Moines and Southern Railroad, and was operated by the Newton and Northwestern Railroad without consideration pending further construction on the part of the Fort Dodge line. This arrangement was later changed to a straight lease of the branch by the Newton and Northwestern for a period of 25 years upon a monthly rental basis.

For a distance of about six miles out of Newton the right of way of the Newton and Northwestern paralleled that of the Chicago Rock Island closely on the north, as far as the town of Metz where it struck off across the country follow-

ing an almost due northwesterly direction all the way to Rockwell City, crossing the Jasper County line 24.35 miles from Newton.

In addition to the sale of stock the cost of the 102.5 miles between Newton and Rockwell City was financed by the issue of $2,500,000 first mortgage bonds maturing in thirty years. Of these, $2,460,000 were actually sold on October 1, 1902, chiefly in Boston. On December 1, 1903, an additional $600,000 funding bond issue was made. The road proved impracticable, being from the beginning too heavily loaded with debt, and after a checkered career of about five years, it passed into the hands of Parley Sheldon at Ames as receiver on June 8, 1908.

An effort was made to dispose of the line to both the Iowa Central and the Rock Island, but neither road was interested, and all the "property, rights, franchises, etc." of the Newton and Northwestern were sold, under a decree of court in foreclosure proceedings, to the Fort Dodge, Des Moines and Southern, a company engaged in constructing an electric interurban railroad between Fort Dodge and Des Moines. The transfer was made on March 31, 1909, on which date the corporate entity of the Newton and Northwestern passed out of existence.

All of that portion of the Newton and Northwestern running north from Des Moines Junction was incorporated into and made a part of the system of the purchasing company, which built a new line from that point directly into Des Moines. Forty-one and seven-tenths miles of the Newton and Northwestern between Des Moines Junction (Midvale) and Newton, including the Colfax Branch, was abandoned and the track removed in 1910.[51]

[51] Weaver's *Past and Present of Jasper County, Iowa,* pp. 114, 115; *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1903, p. 181, 1904, p. 202, 1906, p. 199, 1909, p. 298.

Ottumwa and Kirkville Railroad.— This line was built to tap extensive coal fields in the vicinity of Kirkville, Wapello County, Iowa, for the purpose of hauling miners back and forth from their work and furnishing connections for the Kirkville mines with the numerous railroads radiating out of the city of Ottumwa. From Ottumwa to Comstock (Kirkville Junction) the Ottumwa and Kirkville Railroad operated under a leasehold on the tracks of the Keokuk and Des Moines Branch of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, a distance of 8.17 miles. From Comstock to the Carver Mine shaft in the vicinity of the village of Kirkville new track was built, totaling 3.33 miles. This track was of standard gauge, well built, with excellent bridges and culverts, representing a capital outlay of over $30,000 per mile. Only mixed trains were run between the city of Ottumwa and Kirkville, a distance of 13.5 miles, and for the greater part of the life of the road a regular schedule was maintained, consisting of two trains daily each way. Trains were operated by telephone, this being one of the first lines in the country to operate their trains in such a manner.

The coal fields served by the line became exhausted and were abandoned in 1890, and on September 4th of that year the road ceased to function. The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company which had taken over the operation of the property some time prior to that date, having no further use for the extension, immediately removed the 3.33 miles of track running between Comstock (Kirkville Junction) and the end of the line. The work of dismantling the track was completed on August 4, 1890, and on November 29, 1890, the stockholders dissolved the corporation.

Aside from serving the coal mining industry, the road was of little economic importance save as a convenience to the residents of the town of Kirkville which prospered greatly through the influx of business created by the mines.

While the town of Kirkville was affected materially by the closing of the mines, it has remained until this day an important inland trading center, being served with railroad facilities by Kirkville Station on the Keokuk and Des Moines Branch of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad, about 3½ miles south of the village. Formerly the Kirkville hack met all passenger trains and carried the mails. This service is now performed by an auto line.[52]

St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern Railroad.— In 1878-1879, the St. Louis and Council Bluffs Railway Company constructed its line from the southeast into Council Bluffs, passing through Page County. The business men of Clarinda, the county seat, entertained high hopes that this would pass through their city. These expectations, however, were not realized as the line was finally located and built through Shenandoah in the southwest part of the county. The citizens of Clarinda immediately set about securing a branch of this line, to be constructed northward from Roseberry, Missouri, a distance of twenty-one and one-half miles. A subsidiary company was organized for this purpose under the auspices of the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern Railway which was operated as the Clarinda and St. Louis Railway Company. This company agreed to build the line if a five mill tax was voted in Nodaway, East River, Harlan, and Buchanan Townships, with subscriptions to bring the whole amount up to $100,000, and donations of the right of way to, and depot grounds complete at Clarinda. This tax carried in the various precincts as follows:[53] Nodaway Township, for 507, against 85; Buchanan Township, for 112, against 42; East River Township, for 125, against 66.

[52] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1885, pp. 383–390, 1891, pp. 5, 723.

[53] Lewis and Dunbar's *History of Page County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 169, 170.

The road was subsequently built, passing up the east side of the Nodaway River, touching parts of East River and Harlan Townships, and paralleling a branch of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad about one-half a mile distant on the east.[54] The road terminated at Clarinda and had no outlets north, west, or east. This proved a material handicap from the beginning. The road was bonded for the purpose of construction to the extent of $20,000 per mile by eastern capitalists, and in 1880 came under control of the Wabash, St. Louis and Pacific Railway Company.

The road apparently did a fair business for some time after completion but gradually declined, and finally reached a stage where the receipts from its operation did not meet the running expenses. On April 15, 1886, it passed into the hands of Thomas McKissock, receiver. F. M. Gault was appointed receiver on April 1, 1888, on account of the death of McKissock. After a hearing, the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners did not see fit to compel the road to continue to operate at a financial loss, so the line ceased running trains on December 19, 1889, and the property was ordered sold by the court at "public outcry" to satisfy the claims of various creditors, the track being dismantled early in the year 1890.[55]

Webster City and Southwestern Railroad.— This road was organized in 1887. When first built the property was operated for a time under leasehold by the Crooked Creek Railway and Coal Company and later by a joint arrangement under the caption of the Crooked Creek, Webster City and South Western Railroad Company. The road extended from Webster City to Border Plains, a distance of 13.5

[54] County auditor's map, Page County Courthouse, Clarinda, Iowa.

[55] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1889, pp. 445, 576, 1890, p. 456, 1891, pp. 1041–1043.

miles. The east 10.5 miles of this line was absorbed by the Des Moines, Fort Dodge and Southern Railroad Company and electrified in 1917.[56] The mileage abandoned consisted of the west three miles, or that part of the line running between Brushy Station and Border Plains, at which point connection was made with the line of the Crooked Creek Railway and Coal Company. Stations affected by the abandonment were Brushy Station and Border Plains.

The Winona and Southwestern Railroad.— The Winona and Southwestern was organized under special charter of the Territory of Minnesota granted in 1856. The original project contemplated the building of a railroad from Winona, Minnesota, to Omaha, Nebraska Territory. Construction of the new line was commenced in 1888 and was completed to the north bank of Red Cedar Creek, 1.3 miles west of Osage, Mitchell County, Iowa, in 1892, a distance of 117 miles. Owing to the continued depression of the '90s the balance of the line beyond that point was never constructed and in 1893 the road failed. It was purchased under foreclosure by H. W. Lambertson, V. Simpson, and M. G. Norton on September 15, 1894. In November of the same year these men sold their holdings to the Winona and Western Railway Company, which had been organized for that purpose, filing articles of incorporation with the office of the Secretary of State of Iowa, on November 13, 1894.

The line beyond Osage, to the Red Cedar, was unoperated and with remote prospects of its ever being extended beyond that point. As a result it became a useless appendage to the property and was fast deteriorating for want of use and repairs. It was also a source of continued expense for taxes and other necessary outlay, so the company asked per-

[56] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, 1887, pp. 6, 378, 1891, p. 883, 1900, p. 349.

mission from the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners to remove the rails temporarily from that portion of their line extending beyond Osage, ostensibly for the purpose of using them further up the line at a place where a realignment in the track was being made. The officers represented that they did not have the money on hand to purchase new rails for that purpose, and by using these rails, regular train service need not be interrupted while the track was being shifted. They promised to replace the track as soon as the change was made. This, however, was never done.[57]

The Wisconsin, Iowa and Nebraska Railway Company, Oswald Branch.— The details about this road appear in the first paragraph of the section on the Iowa Northern Railroad in this article. For a time this road listed the "stub" from Valeria to Oswald, a distance of 3.20 miles, as a branch line. This branch was abandoned in 1918.[58]

Ben Hur Wilson

Mt. Pleasant Iowa

[57] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1895, p. 196, 1896, p. 232.

[58] *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners,* 1896, p. 216.

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PRODUCTION OF BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA

[This is the first installment of an article on the economic history of beef production in Iowa, by John A. Hopkins, Jr. The article will be continued in the April number.— THE EDITOR]

The following study attempts to trace the development of the production of beef cattle in Iowa. The beef enterprise is one which has been present in Iowa since the State was first settled. Since that time it has undergone a marked change, the greater part of which may be attributed to economic conditions.

Early in the study it became evident that the beef enterprise could not be considered independently. Neither could it be confined to Iowa alone. The development of the beef enterprise in Iowa has been one phase of cattle production in the nation and, therefore, some attention must be given to the development of the industry. Without this background it would be practically impossible to understand many of the developments in the area under consideration. Consequently an attempt has been made to follow the migration of the industry across the country toward the middle west until it reached Iowa. In this migration many of the underlying economic forces appeared which were later to shape its development. The importance of beef cattle in the settlement of a new territory may be expected to appear here, as may the forces which caused the decline of the grazing of herds on the prairie and the planting of the land in crops, part of which were fed to cattle which were raised under more intensive methods or in other localities.

Not only is it necessary in a study such as the present one

to orient the industry in Iowa by observing the stage of development which it had reached in the rest of the country, and to observe developments in other States as the industry grew in Iowa, but it is also necessary to keep in mind constantly the place in the farm business which this enterprise fills. In the first stage of development there was a screen of cattle drifting across the prairie behind the trapper and ahead of the plow. It is possible to study these herds without much regard to other farm enterprises. But this stage passed quickly, and thereafter, the cattle occupied a more or less definite place in the organization of a business which combined a number of other enterprises, all of which shared jointly in the use of the land, labor, and equipment of the farmer. Considerable attention must also be given to various crops used as feed for the cattle. The cattle must be considered, too, as providing a use for some of the farmer's time during slack seasons when he has a choice of getting a small return from his labor from the care of cattle, or of getting no return at all. These complementary and supplementary relationships afford a very different sort of an enterprise to consider than would be the case if cattle were produced alone, and apart from all other products.

The central problem of the farmer is to get the greatest possible total return from the resources at his command. The most profitable use of each of his resources will be determined by his circumstances. The factors of production, the prices of different commodities which he could produce, his facilities for getting his product to market, and other things must be taken into consideration. When there was a large supply of free or cheap land, with a scarcity of labor and capital, the early settler turned to the grazing of cattle on the prairies. But as his economic environment changed and the supply of labor and capital

grew, as did the consuming population, he found that other types of production became more profitable. Other types of cattle were found to return a greater income. New methods of producing feeds became imperative, and he was forced to modify his whole scheme of production to be able to compete with other producers of beef or similar products.

It is apparent that the development of the beef cattle business depended to some degree on other industries outside of the farm business as well as on other enterprises within it. The building of railroads into Iowa changed the cattle producing business quite materially, partly by providing cheaper and better transportation for the cattle and partly by making it possible to ship out of the State some bulky products which in earlier years had been fed to cattle. The transportation system is quite important to the present day Iowa cattle feeder, whose business is fattening cattle that have been raised on the western ranges. The growth of the system by which the cattle producer is financed, and the development of the live stock marketing system have also had large parts in shaping the evolution of the cattle enterprise.

An attempt was made by the author to examine the principal publications, both books and periodicals, which had a bearing on the development of cattle production in Iowa and in other sections as well. Much of this material was found to relate to the problem at hand only indirectly or in an indefinite way. Valuable but scattered bits of information were secured from agricultural publications and from the reports of agricultural societies. There were a few books, such as *The American Livestock and Meat Industry,* by R. A. Clemen, and Professor J. W. Thompson's manuscript on "A History of Stock Raising in America", which furnished valuable data. But little of this bore directly on the development of the industry in Iowa. Therefore, it was

necessary to interview a large number of old settlers and farmers who had been in the business in the State for a long period of time, as well as cattle dealers, bankers, commission men, and others. The information secured in these interviews was more descriptive than that found in most of the published works, and furnished more definite information as to the rate of settlement, the dates of the adoption of improved practices or new crops, and the function which the cattle enterprise filled in the farm organization at different stages of development.

I

ANTECEDENTS OF BEEF PRODUCTION IN IOWA

A study of the beef growing industry of Iowa can not be confined altogether to the limits of the State. Even in its earliest days the industry was forced to conform to the demand of the markets, which were well beyond the State boundaries. In later years the business of feeding cattle depended for its thin stock largely on the range country to the west. Therefore, a study of the industry, even at any one time, will be incomplete and will not give an adequate understanding of the problem unless some attention is given to phases of the industry which lie outside of Iowa.

It should be the aim of a study in economic history to give as complete an understanding as possible of the forces which modify the business under consideration. This can not be done for the beef cattle enterprise if the study is confined strictly to the period during which cattle have been raised in Iowa. Most of the practices found in Iowa were transplanted from older sections of the country farther to the east. It is necessary to regard the history of this farm enterprise in Iowa as a section of a larger and broader development which began in the earliest colonies of America, continuing to the present day without breaking off or start-

ing anew. There was a constant modification by contemporary events which accelerated or retarded the operation of forces already present in the economic organization of the time, but very seldom added an influence altogether new.

Professor James Westfall Thompson has expressed this aspect of the agricultural history of the United States in his "A History of Stock Raising in America"[1] as follows:

> A regular sequence of industry, beginning with the hunter, followed by the cattle-raiser and finally by the settled farmer is observable in the historical evolution of this frontier. Each epoch of the frontier's expansion is characterized by this "common sequence of frontier types, fur-trader, cattle-raising, pioneer, small primitive farmer."
>
> This "common sequence" may be traced right across the continent, as we shall see. The cow country of each period is always just behind the hunter and the trapper, and ahead of the permanent settler. By 1800 it was west of the Alleghanies, in Ohio and Kentucky. In 1860 it was in Illinois and Missouri. In the '80's the cow country was on the Great Plains.
>
> But wherever the frontier line has been, cattle-raising has always been the dominant industry of the frontier. The cow-pens and cow-drivers of the eighteenth century were the ranches and the cowboys of the nineteenth century.
>
> "A perpetually receding frontier of barbarism" wrote the late John Fiske, was to be one of the most profoundly and variously significant factors in the life of English-speaking Americans until the census of 1890 should announce that such a frontier could no longer be definitely located.

CATTLE RAISING IN EARLY MASSACHUSETTS

In early Massachusetts cattle were of great importance economically, and of great significance historically. Cattle were the most important live stock and the basis of much

[1] Thompson's "A History of Stock Raising in America", Ch. IV, p. 29. This is an unpublished manuscript in the possession of the United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

of the wealth of the colony even before the middle of the seventeenth century. There was good pasture waiting to be used when the Pilgrims arrived, and they and others who came after them went about stocking the country with cattle shipped from England or raised from earlier shipments, mostly of course from the latter. Live stock multiplied rapidly in the early settlements and it was not many decades until the pasture in the immediate neighborhood of the towns was insufficient for the maintenance of the rapidly growing herds. Short pasturage and increasing herds ranked with religious and civil dissension as a cause for the scattering of the settlers in small towns and for their migration to new sections, as from Massachusetts to the Connecticut Valley or to inland sections.

It is also noteworthy that a great many of the clashes with the Indians in colonial days were precipitated by the presence of cattle. The Indians were hunters and had no great objection to eating beef occasionally instead of venison. Furthermore it was not unusual for stray cattle to wander into the Indian's cornfields which were not fenced. Like his white successor in the land, the Indian objected strenuously to having his corn trampled and not infrequently retaliated by killing the offending cattle. The older Iowans who remember the period in Iowa prior to the passing of the fence laws will appreciate the difficulty of keeping peace between the owner of cattle running at large and the owner of an unfenced cornfield.

Not many cattle, however, were permitted to run at large in early New England. As early as 1633 cattle were tended in town herds, much as in Iowa more than two centuries later, in order that the cattle might not stray off too far and be lost. The common pastures played an important part in the economy of early New England, but as the herds grew and the commons became overstocked, it was necessary to

send the cattle farther from the town for pasture. They were usually collected in the morning by a herder who was paid by the owners. The herd was usually returned in the evening in order that the cows might be milked. There was sometimes a second herd of dry cows and other non-milking stock. This herd was usually pastured at a greater distance from town than the milking cattle, often being kept out from spring until the end of the pasture season in the fall. William B. Weeden in his *Economic and Social History of New England* describes this situation as follows:

> By embodying in one communal herd the cattle of many owners, the best care was obtained with the least effort. Labor was scarce in the widening estates of the proprietors and in the growing towns. In some cases, as at Cambridge, the cattle were brought into the village twice in twenty-four hours to be milked, and were pastured out day and night. Generally the cattle were in the home lot at night or in a common cow-house, safe from beasts of prey.
>
> The Cambridge arrangement is typical of the customs prevailing in 1635, as well as at later periods. Richard Rice was to keep 100 cows for three months, receiving ten pounds in pay. The town gives him two men to help him the first fourteen days, and one man the next seven days. This was during the primary schooling of the herd, and while the cows were learning good manners. Then that the morals of Richard, the "cowkeep", might not deteriorate in this enforced daily duty, he was to be allowed two sabbaths out of three for worship, the town providing for the herd on those days. He was to pay three pence fine for any night when he failed to bring in all his charge. He could not keep any other cattle without consent of the townsmen.[2]

The colonists developed a lively trade in barreled beef and pork with the West Indies long before the Revolution. Even prior to this trade, in 1640-1641, the Puritan revolution in England brought distress to the owners of cattle in Massachusetts, and Governor Bradford's vivid description

[2] Weeden's *Economic and Social History of New England*, Vol. I, p. 64.

of the "fall of cattle, in which most parte of their estats lay,"[3] reminds the reader that the depression of 1920-1921 was far from being the first financial disaster to cattlemen.

As the population of New England grew and commerce and industry encroached on agriculture, good land for grazing became scarce in the older sections and cattle raising was driven westward to what was then the frontier. It retired into the newer sections of New Hampshire and Vermont, declining in importance in New England just prior to the Revolution.[4] Its march to the west had begun.

THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY AND THE PIEDMONT REGION

Before the middle of the eighteenth century the rich pastures of the Shenandoah Valley had become famous as a cattle raising section, the cattle being driven to Philadelphia or Baltimore for disposal.[5] On the outbreak of the French and Indian wars in 1755 this business was made precarious by frequent Indian raids and developed but little for a couple of decades. By the time of the Revolution it was overshadowed by the development of cattle raising in the Piedmont region to the south. In the foothills of the Appalachians in North and South Carolina and northern Georgia, there was an abundance of grass and in this mild climate cattle multiplied rapidly thus giving ideal conditions for extensive cattle raising. "In a few years after settlement was begun," declares one writer on this subject,

[3] Bradford says: "for they fell indeede and that so souddanly, as a cowe that but a month before was worth 20£ fell now to 5£ and would yeeld no more; and a goate that wente at 3£ or 50s would now yeeld but 8 or 10s at most. All men feared a fall of cattle, but it was thought it would be by degrees; and not to be from ye highest pitch at once to ye lowest, as it did, which was greatly to ye damage of many, and ye undoing of some."— Bradford's *History of Plimoth Plantation* (New York, 1908 Edition), p. 356.

[4] Thompson's "A History of Stock Raising in America", Ch. II.

[5] Thompson's "A History of Stock Raising in America", Ch. VI.

"cattle and hogs became so abundant that they were allowed to become wild and range through the woods in large droves, no one pretending to know how many he owned".[6]

The extensive cattle raising which developed here about the middle of the eighteenth century bore many of the characteristics which a century later dominated the greater cattle raising industry on the Great Plains. In the Piedmont of Revolutionary days, and somewhat earlier, there were men whose functions were essentially the same as those of the western cowboys in the latter part of the nineteenth century. "Cow pens" or ranches were established, round-ups were held, and cattle were identified by brands and earmarks. Here too was exemplified the sequence in which cattle raising moved completely across the continent. Before cattle grazing became established the section was inhabited only by a few hunters and trappers. Then came the cattle men and most of the hunters disappeared or migrated farther west. Later, as the population increased in the east, it became more profitable to farm the better lying land than to graze it. The more intensive types of cultivation then slowly forced the grazing industry to follow the hunter westward from the Piedmont region.

While the range business was flourishing in the Piedmont, a more advanced form of agriculture had developed in southeastern Pennsylvania. By the time of the Revolution and for a half century thereafter, this locality performed for the cattle raising industry the same function which Iowa and other parts of the "Corn Belt" perform now.[7] The Piedmont region disposed of its cattle either in

[6] Schafer's *Sectionalism in South Carolina*, p. 277.

[7] "The counties around Philadelphia were the paradise of the American farmer and the cattle raiser. Buying lean cattle and fattening was a profitable business and stock farms abounded. Lancaster itself was the largest inland town in the United States".— Thompson's "A History of Stock Raising in America", Ch. VI.

Charleston or in Baltimore and Philadelphia. Since the south raised but little corn and the cattle driven to Charleston were not fattened before killing, the beef sold in that city was said to be "neither fat nor of good taste". But the rich soil of southeastern Pennsylvania produced corn abundantly. Hence the cattle of the Shenandoah Valley and many of those of the Piedmont were fattened by the Pennsylvania farmers before they were sold for slaughter. Lancaster owed much of its early development to the cattle trade and is still a feeder market of considerable note.

The Pennsylvania feeding section, however, did not lose its importance in the cattle industry with the decline of cattle raising in the Shenandoah and Piedmont regions, for as these earlier grazing areas declined their place in the production of grass fed cattle was taken by western Pennsylvania and a little later by Kentucky and Ohio. The droves of cattle arriving in eastern Pennsylvania were still in need of further feeding and finishing before they were put on the Philadelphia and New York markets. Natural conditions favored this as a cattle feeding section. It was near the markets and between the cattle producing and cattle consuming areas. It had splendid pasturage for summer, and an abundance of corn for winter feeding. Last but not least, its inhabitants were industrious Quakers and Germans who were skilled and possessed good judgment in matters pertaining to live stock.

The depletion of the soil was another factor which encouraged cattle feeding in this section. Continuous production of cereals, especially of wheat, after the Revolution and during the Napoleonic wars, proved too heavy a drain on the soil and by 1820 it showed the need of a restoration of its fertility.[8] The feeding of cattle and the careful use

[8] Faux's *Memorable Days in America* in Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XI, p. 94.

of manure, together with clover and lime, offered a solution to the soil fertility problem in eastern Pennsylvania during the early part of the nineteenth century, just as it did later in other feeding sections, and as it does today in the "Corn Belt".

KENTUCKY AND OHIO

As cattle raising was declining to the east of the Appalachian Mountains in the Piedmont section, stock farms were on the increase to the west of the mountains in Kentucky. Also streams of immigrants were pouring into Ohio from over the mountains in Pennsylvania, carrying with them the frontier of agriculture. For a time at least this meant the raising of cattle and hogs, which were the most desirable commodities that could walk to market.

The development of stock farming in Kentucky was rapid, and to a large degree was carried on by immigrants from east of the mountains in Virginia. These people brought with them live stock of good blood, especially horses, and a lively interest in the improvement of stock. The result was that Kentucky early became famous as a source, if not of pure-blooded stock, at least of stock of superior breeding to that in surrounding States. As early as 1785 three sons of Matthew Patton of Virginia, in migrating to Kentucky, took with them some half-blooded heifers by an imported Longhorn bull. Other Longhorns were taken to Kentucky later by members of the Patton family and this had considerable influence in the improvement of the cattle of that section.

In 1817 a Colonel Sanders of Kentucky imported from England twelve cattle, several of which were Shorthorns.[9] In the same year Henry Clay imported four Herefords. These were the first Herefords brought into the United States and for some years Clay's stock farm, "Ashland",

[9] Thompson's "A History of Stock Raising in America", Ch. IX.

was one of the show places for travellers in Kentucky. The influence of these importations of Shorthorns and Herefords, particularly of the former, on the stock of Kentucky and Ohio was very great. There was very little blooded stock in either State for a long time, but the presence of a few raised the standards of the cattle breeder. Also, the pure-blooded or grade offspring of the imported cattle were used, as far as their numbers permitted, to improve the poorer grade native stock of Ohio and Indiana. The native cattle at this time represented a mixture of all types and descriptions of cattle then known in the United States. Prior to the British occupation of Vincennes and other French outposts in 1763, there were a few "large flocks of black cattle"[10] kept by the French to supply the French garrisons and the small settlements around them. Other nondescript cattle were brought into the Ohio River section by the settlers as they came from Pennsylvania, New England, New York, and other States.

An interesting description of the stream of immigration which had already been flowing westward for some decades was written by Fearon in his *Sketches of America* in 1818.[11] During these decades, when pioneers were first dragging their effects over the Appalachians, pioneering was even

[10] Milay's *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, pp. 28, 29.

[11] "Recurring to my old plan of estimation, I passed on my road from Chambersburgh to Pittsburgh, being 153 miles, one hundred and three stage-waggons, drawn by four and six horses proceeding from Philadelphia and Baltimore to Pittsburgh — seventy-nine from Pittsburgh to Baltimore and Philadelphia, sixty-three waggons with families, from the several places following: — twenty from Massachusetts, — ten from the district of Maine, fourteen from Jersey, — thirteen from Connecticut, — two from Maryland, — one from Pennsylvania, one from England, — one from Holland — and one from Ireland; about two hundred persons on horseback, — twenty on foot, — one beggar, one family, with their waggon, returning from Cincinnati, entirely disappointed — a circumstance which, though rare, is by no means as some might suppose, miraculous."— Fearon's *Sketches of America*, p. 196.

more arduous and painful than during the later period which saw the same stream continue through its early deltas of settlement and cross the remaining twenty-five hundred miles to California and Oregon. These earlier pioneers had but little of the valuable experience of predecessors by which to plan their movements. There were then no railroads to take them part way. Roads were unimproved and often nearly impassable. The settlers had not yet developed even such crude facilities for transporting themselves and their effects as had come into use when Iowa was settled a third of a century later. The Conestoga wagon, heavy and awkward as it was, was better adapted to the journey of the settlers than the makeshift outfits which most of them were using. At this time the Conestoga wagon was being used in freighting from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia but judging from Fearon's description, had not come into general use among the settlers.

In the last few years of the eighteenth century, cattle raising came to be one of the most important if not the most important enterprise in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio. Prior to this there had been a danger from Indian raids which was removed in the battle of Fallen Timber in 1794. There had also been a competing market for corn by its conversion into whisky. A bushel of corn in Philadelphia was worth as much as three or four in Ohio or western Pennsylvania, and yet the intervening mountains and the distance offered an effective barrier to its profitable transportation. Therefore it was profitable either to feed the corn to cattle, which could walk to market, or to manufacture it into whisky, which being of small volume and high specific value, could be hauled to market with profit. The Whisky Rebellion ended this trade. The volume of illicit distilling at that time is of course unknown, but it was certainly smaller than the trade in cattle. Thereafter cattle

increased in importance as a means of transporting corn eastward.

"At least as early as 1802", writes Thompson, "Kentucky and Ohio cattle raisers began to drive cattle to Philadelphia and Baltimore."[12] But the trade did not become very large for at least a decade thereafter.

The trade gradually increased, but not rapidly, until some years after the close of the War of 1812 when the failure of wheat to command cash gave a great impetus to the raising and feeding of cattle and hogs. Although the selling price of such stock was very low, they were the only remaining cash articles of the farmer, and the cost of production was not very carefully considered. There was no alternative, as he was obliged to have some money wherewith to procure the necessities of life and to pay taxes. The business continued to increase rapidly until about the year 1850.[13]

In 1817, a drover named Drenning took 200 cattle from Chillicothe, Ohio, to New York.[14] These were said to be the first Ohio cattle driven to that market. This trade increased as cattle feeding became more general in Ohio.

[12] Thompson's "A History of Stock Raising in America", Ch. VI.

[13] *Eighth Census of the United States* (Agriculture), 1860, p. cxxx.

[14] "The high prices of all kinds of provisions, and more especially that of cattle, was the cause of introducing cattle from Ohio. The first drove was brought on here (to New York) in the month of June, 1817, by a drover named 'Drenning'. The 'Press' gives us the following account: 'They appear as fresh as if just taken off one of our Long Island farms. When it is recollected that they have been driven nearly one thousand miles, this fact will be considered a very remarkable one. Several of our leading butchers have made an offer of *twelve dollars* a hundred for the beef of this drove; but it is supposed *twelve dollars and a half* will purchase them. Mr. Drenning started from Chillicothe, Ohio, with about 200 in the drove, driving them very slowly, and only a few miles per day; he arrived here with more than 100, having sold many of them on the way'. The 'old butchers' recollect them, and say they looked well, having been strongly fed on whole corn daily from the time they started."— DeVoe's *The Market Book*, Vol. I, p. 411.

It is of great interest to notice that the methods of feeding cattle in the Scioto River section of Ohio in the first quarter of the nineteenth century were very similar to those used much more recently in Iowa, where in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, cattle were often fed fodder on the ground. In the volume on "Agriculture" in the *Eighth Census of the United States,* 1860, this system of feeding, which was simply the easiest way of getting the cattle and corn together, was traced back to the practice prevailing at an earlier date in Virginia. An extract from this article follows:[15]

> The large bodies of rich bottom-land lying on the borders of the tributary streams of the Ohio were not adapted to wheat-culture, and on the Scioto river much of the land was owned by immigrants from the south branch of the Potomac river, Virginia, where the feeding of cattle had been carried on for many years in a manner peculiar to that locality, and which materially differed from the mode practiced in Pennsylvania or further north. The cattle were not housed nor sheltered, but simply fed twice a day in open lots of ten or more acres each, with unhusked corn with the fodder, and followed by hogs to clean up the neglected grains and ears; which practice was adopted here and is still (written in 1860) the almost universal method throughout the west, having undergone but little or no material change in fifty years.

The above example may be considered as one of the earliest stages in the development of present feeding methods.

There were two grades of cattle driven to the east from Ohio during these early years. Fat four-year-olds were driven slowly for sale in the eastern markets. The second type, three-year-olds, were taken off grass and driven eastward to the Lancaster feeding area where they were sold to farmers for fattening.

Between 1820 and 1830 the Ohio cattle raising section began to undergo the same type of change as that which

[15] *Eighth Census of the United States* (Agriculture), 1860, p. cxxx.

earlier had made eastern Pennsylvania into a cattle feeding instead of a cattle raising section. Immigration pushed on through Ohio and into Indiana and Illinois. The population in Ohio became less sparse, and cattle increased on the prairies to the west. It became evident in Ohio that cattle could be bought more cheaply from the prairies which lay to the west than they could be raised at home. Furthermore the Illinois and Indiana cattle raisers had an abundance of grass but a shortage of corn which was plentiful in Ohio, where the settlers were finding it more profitable to cultivate corn than to make a more extensive use of the land by grazing it. Therefore cattle began to come into Ohio to be finished on corn as they had come into Pennsylvania for a half century.

CATTLE RAISING IN ILLINOIS

Cattle raising did not develop in Indiana to as great an extent as in either Ohio or Illinois. The pasture was not so good and the early population had a reputation for lawlessness which discouraged stock raising. Moreover, its distance from the eastern markets had something of a deterrent effect on the raising of fat cattle. But in Illinois, with good pasture and a population which seems to have been more predisposed to stock raising, cattle were soon abundant and were allowed to roam more or less unrestrained on the prairies, identified by the owner's brand. Large herds were reported on the Illinois prairies by Fearon and others as early as 1818.

The cattle in early Illinois, like those in Ohio, were intended ultimately for the Philadelphia and Baltimore markets. But because of the scarcity of corn to fatten them and the great distance to market, driving cattle from Illinois to the eastern markets proved rather unsatisfactory[16] and

[16] *Eighth Census of the United States* (Agriculture), 1860, p. cxxxi.

they were driven to Ohio to be fattened instead. From Ohio they were later driven the rest of the way to market.

The importance of the Ohio feeding section continued until about 1850. In fact, it seems to have grown in importance as the grazing industry pushed westward and covered a larger area. It is said that "before 1850 thousands of cattle were raised on the prairies of Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa each year and sold to drovers who took them to Ohio to fatten for the eastern markets."[17] It is probable that not many of these cattle came from west of the Mississippi River, however, but that most of them were raised in Illinois.

The peak of cattle feeding in Ohio was reached and passed sometime between 1840 and 1850. That it did not become an even larger business was due in a large part to the development of a market which competed with that of the east and was as easily accessible to Illinois as to Ohio. This was the market for pork and beef, and even for corn, on the plantations in the South, and accessible by flatboat from points along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. This river trade was largely responsible for the importance of Cincinnati and St. Louis as packing centers until the change from river to railroad as a means of transportation made Chicago the cross-roads of the nation rather than St. Louis or some other point.

The pioneer period in Illinois was over about 1840. The frontier had moved to Iowa and Wisconsin, and plenty of corn was being raised in Illinois by that time so that farmers could fatten their own cattle. The road to Philadelphia and New York, however, was a long one, and fat cattle shrunk heavily and were expensive to drive through the already thickly populated States which intervened.

But the building of the railroads from the east to the Mis-

[17] Thompson's "A History of Stock Raising in America", Ch. VI.

sissippi River permitted the fattening of cattle in Illinois and their shipment from there direct to the eastern markets, particularly to New York. Thus Illinois became a cattle feeding State and was able to finish its cattle for market as well as to buy others from the west and southwest to fatten as Ohio had been doing previously. At the same time the population of Ohio, having grown rapidly, was demanding much more beef than formerly for home consumption. Therefore the importance of Ohio as a source of beef for the eastern markets was greatly reduced. The new transportation system, which by affording Illinois a better market for its cattle, had the tendency to raise the price of feeder cattle to the Ohio feeder, thereby reducing the margin between the thin and fat cattle. It also raised the price of corn by making it much cheaper to transport to the east than before. Previously the high cost of hauling had made it practically impossible to ship corn. Felix Renick in the volume on "Agriculture" in the *Census of 1860* not only declared that the shipment of cattle from Ohio to the eastern markets during the previous decade had greatly fallen off, but added:

> Though the railroads also facilitated the transportation of fat cattle from Ohio, adding but little to the cost, and saving the drover near or quite one hundred pounds of flesh, on an average, to each animal, yet, by affording quicker and at all time a more certain conveyance for other things as well, particularly the article of whiskey, and the manufacturers of that article being able to pay more for corn than the cattle feeders could possibly afford to do, they more than counterbalanced the advantage derived therefrom to stock-raising. Hence, in localities favorably situated for the sale of corn, the business of feeding it to cattle has become a comparatively unimportant one.[18]

Missouri and Iowa now occupied much the same situation in the cattle producing industry as that occupied by Illinois

[18] *Eighth Census of the United States* (Agriculture), 1860, p. cxxxi.

two decades earlier. The passing of large numbers of settlers toward and into Missouri was reported by Faux as early as 1818,[19] and by Flint about the same time, but few cattle came from west of the river before 1840. But in 1850, or shortly thereafter, Missouri and to a lesser degree southeastern Iowa came to be important as sources of feeder cattle for Illinois and of some grass-fat cattle for market.

A tendency to finish cattle at a younger age was already noticeable, made possible, largely, by improved breeding of the cattle even though most of them were still of a quite inferior type. In 1860 the writer of the article on *Cattle and the Cattle Trade of the West* in the *Census of 1860* bemoaned the tendency of the cattle raisers of the time to "hurry off their *half-fatted* stock to market at the early age of three years, thereby involving an absolute waste of 'raw material', whereas if these same cattle were kept one year longer, and made ripe for the shambles, there would not only be a gain of full one-third in weight, but they would produce a quality of beef not excelled in any country or clime."[20]

It was in the early fifties that the midwestern cattle men began to become acquainted with Texas cattle and with Texas fever. Cattle had become very plentiful in Texas. Very few up to this time had been used for beef, but most of them only for their hide and tallow. During the early fifties, with the development of the transportation system and of cattle feeding in Illinois, there appeared an opportunity for the driving of these cattle to Illinois to bring them to as high a state of finish as they were capable of taking. Some of the more enterprising Illinois drovers

[19] Faux's *Memorable Days in America* in Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XI, p. 206.

[20] *Eighth Census of the United States* (Agriculture), 1860, p. cxxxiii.

who, as a class, were now deprived of their earlier function of transporting cattle to the east, attempted to develop a trade in bringing cattle from Texas to Illinois for sale to feeders.[21]

At first this trade was welcomed by both Texans and the feeders, by the former because it offered an outlet for their cattle at rates which were much above what they had received before, and by the cattle feeders because the drovers could afford to sell the Texan cattle lower than the price of native stock. But an unforeseen obstacle to the trade arose. The native cattle along the route traversed by the Texan stock became sick and died, and the disease was properly blamed on the Texas cattle, although it was a long time before its exact nature was understood. As a result, the opposition of the inhabitants of Missouri and other sections through which the Texas cattle were driven, practically put a stop to the trade, at least for a while. In some Missouri counties the farmers organized for the protection

[21] In the volume on "Agriculture" in the *Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860, page cxxxiv, Felix Renick wrote of his experience with Texas cattle as follows: "In the winter of 1853-54 I had purchased for use about 1200 head of cattle in the northern part of Texas. . . . These cattle were brought to Illinois in the spring and summer of 1854 — the first, I believe, that ever came from Texas, at least in large numbers. This enterprise created quite an excitement in the northern part of Texas and all my correspondents there manifested a strong desire to have this new trade continued as they believed it would result advantageously to all concerned, ... as they said, and with truth, that they could raise cattle and deliver them in Illinois with satisfactory profits to themselves, for less, by one-half, than they could be raised in that State. . . . but an unforseen difficulty exploded the whole business within the next two years. It was found that the southern or Spanish cattle were subject to an epidemic or contagious disease somewhat resembling the yellow fever in the human race. . . . So serious was the loss occasioned by each drove of Texas cattle passing through, that the inhabitants of southwestern Missouri held conventions in divers places, and resolved that no more Texas cattle should pass through the country, and, by order of these conventions, armed bands or patrols were appointed, whose duty it was to turn back all Texas droves that might attempt to pass, which they did effectually. Thus ended what at one time seemed a promising trade."

of their cattle from the Texans and turned back herds which attempted to cross, using either persuasion or the force of armed patrols.

The Texan cattle were very inferior in type, even as compared to the low grade natives of Illinois at that time. They could have been fed if bought cheaply enough, but the early experiences in feeding them proved disappointing to most of the feeders. Mr. Renick said:

> From the short trial, however, it became evident that from the inferiority of the Texas stock as beef cattle, the trade would not have resulted as satisfactorily as was anticipated; the cattle were very light weighers for their size of frame, with but little room for improvement, and so wild as to be almost unmanageable.[22]

Consequently the Texas cattle did not become popular. Native stock, or cattle from Iowa and Missouri, were the principal ones to be finished in Illinois or shipped east up to the beginning of the Civil War, when even the possibility of bringing in others from the southwest was cut off.

II

FORCES INFLUENCING THE IOWA CATTLE INDUSTRY PRIOR TO 1896

Prior to 1896 the story of the beef cattle enterprise in Iowa was largely one of that development which naturally accompanied the settling and bringing under cultivation of a new territory. This settlement in Iowa was by pioneers who entered the State with very little but their intelligence and their ability to work. The capital which they brought with them when they first settled was very meagre and the economic history of each new section reveals an insufficiency of capital for the fullest exploitation of the virgin land. The problem of obtaining capital in the needed

[22] *Eighth Census of the United States* (Agriculture), 1860, p. cxxxiv.

forms was one of the most important with which the new settler had to wrestle for a couple of decades after he came to the new community.

The period of time during which the major part of Iowa was settled was shorter than that required by either Illinois or Ohio. The population of the eastern part of the country having grown greatly since the settlement of the country west of the Appalachians, and immigration from abroad being even more rapid than before, there was an increasing stream of settlers flowing to the west. As Iowa was the next area in the line of march of the settlers, the stages intervening between the first settlements and the attainment of an agriculture of relatively intense cultivation were shorter here than to the east. Even in Iowa with its rapid increase of population it took as long as thirty years for some of the early practices of settlement, as for instance herding cattle on the open prairie, to disappear from the State. It should be remembered, however, that this period marks the duration of the march of settlement and of the first intensification of agriculture across the three hundred miles between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and not the duration of the practice in any one section, which was usually not over a dozen years.

In 1840 the population of Iowa was reported by the census to be 43,112. The settled portion of Iowa included eighteen counties in the eastern and southeastern part of the State, covering between one-sixth and one-seventh of its area. In 1850 the population was 192,214, of which 128,712 people lived in the area referred to above. Practically the entire population was included within two tiers of counties to the west and north of the first mentioned area, except that in the south-central part of the State, settlement was well advanced as far west as Polk and Warren counties. The vanguard of settlement had now ad-

vanced over two-fifths of the area of the State, but in all except the southeastern corner, it was still thinly scattered. There were only fourteen counties with a density of population of ten or more per square mile.

From the sparseness of the early population, it might be supposed that practically all of the early attempts at agriculture would be in the direction of grazing stock upon the prairies — that being the most extensive way in which the land could be used. But such was not the case. The settlers were seldom people of sufficient means to own the necessary number of cattle to make a living by grazing. Usually the settler had a yoke of oxen, or a team of horses, and a couple of nondescript cows which were intended as much to furnish milk for the family as to form the foundation stock for a beef herd.[23] Therefore he was forced to apply a considerable part of his labor to the growing of crops such as wheat and corn even though on only a small part of the land available. This situation held true for the small settler for a period of several years until he had obtained more cattle.

Here and there over the later settled parts of the State, there were a few men of greater means than ordinary, who owned herds of as many as one or two hundred cattle which they herded on the prairie in the pasture season, usually fattening the cattle which were ready for sale on corn in the winter, and feeding the others on corn-fodder and hay.

Across the southern part of the State the Mormons had crossed on their way west in 1846. This route, later called the Mormon Trail, was one of the principal roads between the Mississippi River and Council Bluffs before the railroads arrived. There was a shorter trail from Ottumwa to Creston and then west by way of the Mormon Trail which

[23] Interviews with E. L. Beard of Decorah, R. W. Moore of Cedar, C. Brazelton of Leon, and C. F. Noble of Chariton.

was used in the fifties and sixties. Settlement along the Missouri River was well advanced before the country thirty or forty miles east was taken up. Settlers in this section had followed the Missouri River north from Missouri or from its confluence with the Mississippi. Council Bluffs was the principal river crossing between St. Joseph and Sioux City both for the Mormons and for others until twenty or thirty years later. Consequently we find settlement developing in this region at an early date.

In the rich bottom lands along the Missouri River near Council Bluffs and north from there, early settlers found a species of rush growing which was suitable for grazing cattle. Concerning the settlement of the Mormons at Council Bluffs and the value of this forage crop, James Westfall Thompson says:[24]

> The Missouri crossing at Council Bluffs, was so to speak, the division point on the road. Here, in the bottom lands of the great river, over 12,000 Mormons were almost permanently encamped and miles of farm land cultivated. Thousands of cattle were driven across the Missouri, and up into what are now Winona and Harrison Counties, Iowa, to winter on the 'rush bottoms', a now extinct species of reed which remained green all winter and was something like the southern cane as a forage.

In the report of the Patent Office for 1852, J. E. Johnson of Council Bluffs speaks of cattle raising in these "rush bottoms"[25] in the following terms:

> There is no country within my knowledge better adapted to grazing than this. Upon all the streams large beds of rushes are found, where stock will fatten all winter, only requiring herding. Then in the summer our broad prairies produce an abundance of fine rich grass, which will fatten stock much quicker than tame grasses. The cost, therefore, of rearing is comparatively nothing. The average price at 3 years old will be $12.00 per head.

[24] Thompson's "A History of Stock Raising in America", Ch. VIII, p. 13.

[25] *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1852*, Part II, p. 341.

Until the outbreak of the Civil War the process of settlement in Iowa continued in a normal fashion. Settlers continued to pour into the State from the east and from the southeast through Missouri. The number of cattle increased as rapidly as the settlers' means and the natural increase of the number already in the State permitted. In the older sections the cattle enterprise was undergoing a change from a means of using the prairie pasture to a means of transporting crops to market, as had been the case in Ohio, Illinois, and other sections which had been settled earlier.

One of the most important influences was the beginning of the railroad system which linked Iowa to the markets of the east. The building of railroads in Iowa was begun in 1855. From that time until the outbreak of the war they were pushed westward into the State as rapidly as possible. As they were extended it became possible to feed cattle to a higher finish since they could then be taken to market more quickly and with a smaller shrinkage than could be done when it was necessary to drive them.

THE PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WAR AND THE READJUSTMENT

In 1861 the various trends influencing agriculture were interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War. The market, which the mid-western farmer had found for many of his cattle in the South, was cut off. Consequently, there was a decline in the gold price of cattle in Chicago, during the first part of the war, until the wartime demand in the North had attained its full proportions. At the same time the general price level in terms of currency was fluctuating greatly but, in general, was rising rapidly. Agricultural prices stood still or moved down until the middle of 1862, when they began to rise because of the demand for food and supplies for the armies and for the industrial population

which was now engaged in filling the demand for army supplies. The prices of wheat, corn, and hogs started upward in the third quarter of 1862, followed more slowly, and about three months later by cattle.

At the end of the war there was a period of violent fluctuation in the price of cattle, and even more violent in corn and hogs. This lasted until 1868, when the price of cattle began to rise until 1870, and then to decline for a year and a half. Until 1870 the price of cattle was, for the most part, improving in relation to the prices received for corn and hogs.

In general, the effect of the war was to slow down the process of development which had been in progress earlier, and to divert effort, for a while, to the production of commodities needed in carrying on the war. There was a great deal of interest in the production of wool, which previously had been of relatively little importance. Furthermore, during the war the building of railroads was much slowed down, and on most lines in Iowa was stopped altogether, labor being scarce and material high. At the end of the war the process of settlement and internal improvement made up with a rush for the period of retardation. In 1860 the population of Iowa was reported by the census as 674,913. During the war, immigration into the State seems to have been at a slower rate than in the few years just previous, and yet in 1870 the population of the State was 1,194,020, showing that the rush of settlers after the suspension of hostilities must have been very great.

THE BOOM IN SHEEP

During the Civil War there was a diversion of interest from cattle, as a live stock enterprise in the organization of the farm, to sheep. The supply of cotton from the South was cut off by the war. There was, therefore, a greater

demand for wool, even aside from the demand for clothing for the army. Few farmers seem to have considered that the high prices for wool were only temporary and would end as soon as the war was over and the full supply of cotton again became available. The result was a great boom in the raising of sheep. In the *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society* for 1862 a writer said: "This branch of husbandry is attracting universal attention in all parts of the State. The lightness of the labor connected with it; the large returns on the capital invested, when properly managed; and the trifling cost at which the product can be marketed, are considerations which commend the pursuit to everyone".[26] J. B. Grinnell in an article on *Sheep on the Prairies* in the *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture* for 1862 was no less optimistic when he said: "The great west waits with impatience the inauguration of the reign of 'the Prince of Wool.' "[27]

Sheep were bought in eastern States and shipped into Iowa by thousands to each county in which there were farmers to buy them. The *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society* for 1864 says that in 1850 the sheep in the State numbered 149,960 and in 1860, 258,228. In 1863 the census returns placed the number of sheep on hand at shearing time at but sixty-two less than six hundred thousand. Estimating the increase at one-fourth and the importation at 150,000, it placed the number at shearing time in 1864, at 900,000.[28]

At the close of the war, wool was about a dollar per pound. Thereafter, it fell so that for a time it yielded the farmers only one-third to one-fifth of that price. There had also been serious losses from diseases, especially scab,

[26] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1861-1862, p. 129.

[27] *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture* (United States), 1862, p. 301.

[28] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1864, p. 12.

and from dogs. Lack of experience in handling sheep on the part of many of the farmers who had bought them made the losses greater than they would otherwise have been. As a result the farmers could not get rid of their sheep fast enough to please them. In 1868, less than half of the county societies reporting to the State Agricultural Society make any mention of sheep, although during the war the reports were filled with enthusiasm concerning this class of live stock. Of the thirty reporting on sheep in this year, only six had anything favorable to say about them. The same is true of the reports of the next year, when only two out of twenty-one reports on sheep were optimistic concerning their possibilities in Iowa. Most of the correspondents speak of sheep raising as "subsiding", "abandoned", "unprofitable", and the like.[29]

The great interest in sheep during the war explains some of the lack of interest in cattle. It was thought that sheep would, to a considerable degree, replace cattle in the rural economy of the State. The collapse in the sheep boom was likewise responsible for a part of the boom in cattle which followed the war. It was then realized that sheep were to play a minor part. Cattle were selling at good prices and promised to be profitable. Therefore an attempt was made to replace the flocks of sheep with cattle.

THE RESUMPTION OF THE EARLIER TRENDS

The war had produced violent fluctuations in the production and prices of farm products, but it had not brought to an end the normal trends previously in evidence. There had, it is true, been some changes in the relative influence and direction of some of these forces, but they were still present and actually in operation.

[29] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1868, p. 17, 1869, pp. 12–14.

The invention and adoption of improved machinery and implements on the farm caused profound changes in agricultural production. And yet, the essential principle of the reaper, for instance, had been invented thirty years before the period under consideration. The new feature was the influence of the war, which by making man power on the farms scarce, gave a stimulus to the adoption of farm machinery and encouraged further improvements. With the release of the man power that had been taken by the war, the improved machinery accelerated settlement on the prairies. The result was cheap grain and a great deal of it, and consequently a large increase in the production of beef and pork on grain instead of pasture in many sections of Iowa as well as elsewhere.

Immediately after the war there was a short period of depression, followed by rising prices (in gold) of corn, cattle, and hogs until 1870. In the *Prairie Farmer* of March 31, 1866, it was said:

> Farm products have been the first to feel the reaction that follows the closing up of the war and the gradual fall in the price of gold. But there is a general stagnation in the business of our cities both east and west, and a general uneasiness that proclaims that not to the products of the farm is the decline to be confined. There is a general impression that the end of the fictitious basis on which trade has been conducted for many months, is very near.

However, there was a recovery shortly after this date and the production of cattle was stimulated for several years.

Rapid settlement and the use of improved machinery resulted in the increased production of grain. In Iowa in 1866 there were one and two-thirds millions of acres of corn. In 1872 this had increased to two and a half millions. The situation was well summed up in the report of the Chicago Board of Trade for 1872, as follows:

> The largely-increased production of corn for the past three

years has greatly accelerated stock-raising, and our receipts of both cattle and hogs have been largely in excess of any former year. Indeed, the low price of corn at the seaboard and the high rates of transportation thither, have left no alternative for the remote producer but the conversion of his crop into beef and pork.

THE PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT

After the close of the Civil War settlement in Iowa continued at a rapid rate, and as a result land became more and more valuable. It is reported that in Wapello and Mahaska counties the best land with improvements was selling for about $30.00 per acre by 1870.[30] In 1877 the report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society says concerning Benton County: "New settlers are composed of men of means, who purchase improved farms at from twenty to thirty-five dollars per acre."[31]

Farther west and in the southern part of the State settlement was more rapid than in most other parts. Into this section two streams of immigrants and of influence were flowing. The main stream came directly west along the old Mormon Trail,[32] and later along or by way of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. Another stream of settlers followed the Missouri River to the west and north until it reached Council Bluffs.[33] The stream divided here. Most of it crossed the river and proceeded westward, but some turned to the east or northeast and settled in Iowa. The greater part of this immigration came from Missouri,

[30] Interview with R. W. Moore of Cedar.

[31] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1877, p. 293.

[32] For a map of Mormon trails across southern Iowa see THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, p. 8. The Mormon Trail crossed into Iowa from Nauvoo, Illinois, north of Keokuk. It proceeded westward through Lee, Van Buren, Davis, Appanoose, Wayne, Decatur, Clarke, and Union counties, then turned northward through Adair, Cass, and Pottawattamie counties to the present location of Council Bluffs.

[33] Interview with J. J. Harsh of Creston.

or from Kentucky, southern Illinois, or southern Indiana. It was comprised, for the most part, of settlers of good grade who were interested in live stock improvement, and brought good stock with them. This influx took place in the late sixties and early seventies. At the same time the heavier stream of immigrants was flowing along the Mormon Trail to western Iowa and to sections farther west at a rapid rate. An old settler of Creston recalls that he saw a mile of the trail, not far from his father's house, literally full of the wagons of settlers moving westward.[34]

The rate of immigration determined to a considerable degree the length of time during which there was to be land available for herding and other extensive uses. The direction of the stream of settlers determined which were to be the sections where herding was to last longest or to die out soonest. The settlement spread out from the early trails, and later from the railroads. The sections nearest the source of immigration were usually the first to be taken. But this was not always true, for settlers often passed through very thinly settled localities in order to get to others where there was reported to be better land or some other advantage.

In many of the sections the first settlements were to be found on land now considered inferior for farming purposes.[35] These were usually in the rougher, wooded sections along the streams. Various explanations have been advanced for this. It has been said the chief reason was that many of the settlers were from the rough sections in the eastern part of the country and chose the wooded sections because they resembled those from which they had come. In the earlier years there were some ideas to the effect that the level, open prairies were inferior to the

[34] Interview with Joseph M. Wray of Creston.

[35] Interviews with Robison Baxter of Ida Grove and Patrick Griffin of Leon.

rougher sections for farming. Each of these rumors probably had some influence, but there were also more substantial reasons. The wooded areas afforded material for building and fencing which was both essential and scarce. They also afforded some protection in the form of a windbreak in winter and shade in summer. The settlers usually tried to locate their buildings near a spring in order to have a supply of water without the labor of digging a well and they settled near streams in order to have water for their stock.

The northwestern part of the State was the last to be taken up. Although there was a settler here and there as early as the Civil War, there was still land available for a few herds until after 1890 in the two northern tiers of counties west of Winnebago. In the southern part of this area there were a great many swamps and shallow lakes. Much of the land was too wet to raise good crops. Consequently, in addition to being farthest from the sources of population it was also the least desirable on which to farm. In the northern and the western tiers of counties there was rough land, much of it gravelly in texture. This also was undesirable as long as there were rich prairies to the south and east which had not been fully taken. A little later, when land began to be tile drained, the old lakes and swamps became the most fertile and productive land in the section, if not in the State.

In the northwestern part of the State, wheat became a much more important crop than in the southern and eastern parts. Late in the seventies in some sections and in the eighties in others, the crops of wheat began to decline. At the same time the farmers here began to discover that good crops of corn could be grown contrary to earlier belief. This section had a relatively slow process of settlement. A large number of settlers had been ruined by the invasions

of the grasshoppers in the sixties and the seventies. But in the nineties by a rapid though late development it came to rank higher than some that had been settled completely a third of a century sooner.

By the middle of the nineties, the entire State had been settled. The frontier had swept beyond the limits of Iowa, and in fact the real frontier was gone from the United States. Before 1895 the three earliest stages of settlement — pioneering, cattle herding, and wheat growing — had passed beyond the Missouri River and into the Dakotas.

Some conception of the relative density of population can be secured from old settlers. Along the Mormon Trail in Union County a settler of 1870 reported that his nearest neighbors were four miles to the east and seven miles to the west.[36] There were but few cattle, despite the great abundance of pasturage, because the settlers had not the means to obtain them. At the same time, settlement in Cass County was even more sparse. A settler from Illinois, who took up land six miles west of Atlantic, had no neighbors to the west for fifteen miles. This man was considered particularly well off as regards cattle. He had brought with him about twenty cows, a bull, and three covered wagons full of his implements and effects, drawn by ten or twelve horses.[37] This may give some idea of the wealth of the more well to do settlers. Another settler who arrived in Cass County in 1876 found most of the land taken up by that time.

In the northern part of Greene County, a settler of 1881 found but few others in the neighborhood. In Crawford County, the second county east from the Missouri River, settlement was about as far advanced along the main line of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad as in Greene

[36] Interview with Joseph M. Wray of Creston.

[37] Interviews with H. W. Fulton and Charles Hunt, both of Atlantic.

County. In a few sections in these counties there was open prairie so that herding lasted until 1889 or 1890.

Buena Vista and Cherokee counties were along the route of the Illinois Central which was opened to Sioux City in 1870. Here again there was a close connection between the building of the railroad and the rate of settlement. The first settlers seem to have arrived in these counties in 1869 and 1870 with the railroad.[38] Between the east and west lines of railroads, which were the first opened in Iowa, there were large sections of country which remained unsettled for a considerable period of time. These intervening spaces permitted expansion of settlement, and also pasture for the herds of the older sections. The railroads were used to some extent for the conveyance of settlers into the newer regions, but there were a great many who migrated from older parts of the State and did not travel by way of the railroads. These settled, if they were able, along the railroads in order to have as good communication with the markets and the older sections as possible. The later comers were forced to take less and less advantageous locations.

In Ida County, which was between the Chicago and Northwestern and the Illinois Central lines, settlement did not become very dense until the early eighties. A settler in Ida County in 1876 found the county thinly populated, but reported an influx of settlers within a couple of years which took most of the desirable land.[39] But another settler in the county in 1884 said that there was still prairie land to be had until the late eighties.[40]

From 1870 to the end of 1873 cattle declined from approximately $7.00 per hundred pounds for fat cattle in

[38] Interview with George J. Schaler of Storm Lake.

[39] Interview with Robison Baxter of Ida Grove.

[40] Interview with a stock man of Ida Grove.

Chicago to about $4.50. The decline caused a serious depression in the cattle business. And yet, the decline had, in general, been gradual and the Iowa farmers were not as badly hurt by it as were other industries.[41] In 1874 there was a recovery in cattle prices for about a year. Then there was another decline to about $4.00 in 1876. After 1876 cattle rose steadily until 1884, except for a recession in 1877-1878.

The prices of hogs, a farm enterprise competing with cattle, in 1874 recovered more rapidly than cattle. Hogs maintained their relative advantage over cattle until 1877. The result was that the farmer's interest in hogs grew while that in cattle declined. It will be observed from the accompanying table that the shipments of cattle out of Iowa fell off after the large run of 1873 until 1878, except for the year 1876. The large run in 1876 was caused by the big corn crop of 1875, which induced heavy feeding.[42] The receipts of hogs in Chicago began to decline as a result of the lower prices of 1881. This decline would probably have begun a year or two sooner but for the big corn crops from 1878 to 1880. The figures in this table were obtained from the annual reports of the Iowa State Agricultural Society. Figures for 1864, 1874, 1875, and 1885 were incomplete.

[41] "Farmers are in easy circumstances compared with persons in other occupations; the 'hard times' affect them but little, and everywhere there are evidences in the shape of new dwellings, barns, buildings, fences, etc., of steady growth and improvement."—*Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1873, p. 382.

[42] "The immense corn-crop of 1875, far exceeding the demand of the market for this grain, induced northwestern farmers to go extensively into stock-feeding. A sufficient number of hogs could not be obtained for its consumption, and hence cattle-feeding was resorted to for the disposal of the surplus. Hence during the fall months of 1875, a larger number of cattle were got together upon farms dependent upon the Chicago market than ever before known". The result was "the receipt of a very large number of cattle in January, a month in which transactions are usually limited."—*Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture* (United States), 1876, p. 219.

Table I

Cattle Shipped East over the Principal Railroads from Iowa

Year	Approximate Number of Cattle	Year	Approximate Number of Cattle
1863	68,976	1877	247,794
1864	65,192	1878	354,117
1865	81,999	1879	372,003
1866	78,203	1880	410,139
1867	64,846	1881	548,106
1868	82,841	1882	514,281
1869	90,141	1883	697,149
1870	129,253	1884	588,836
1871	100,184	1885	552,915
1872	200,437	1886	583,121
1873	356,417	1887	568,939
1874	279,365	1888	607,744
1875	270,033	1889	463,206
1876	322,400		

The price of corn, the most important "raw material" entering into the production of beef, rose faster than cattle in 1874, but began to decline, with the increasing size of the corn crops in 1875.[43] Considering the relationship which had existed between cattle and corn previously, the corn prices remained low to the end of the period under consideration. The years 1881, 1887, and 1890 should be excepted here, because of small corn crops.

THE RANGE CATTLE BOOM AND ACCOMPANYING PRICE MOVEMENTS

In the meantime, the range cattle business was undergoing a period of rapid expansion. The number of "other cattle" (beef cattle) reported in the United States by the

[43] "The proportion of both cattle and hogs sold in this market for feeding purposes has very materially increased within the past few years and noticeably so in 1875".— *Report of the Chicago Board of Trade*, 1875.

Department of Agriculture had increased from approximately twelve to sixteen millions between 1868 and 1871. This number remained practically stationary until 1877, when it increased to eighteen millions. It then continued to increase rapidly until it reached nearly thirty millions in 1885.

The spectacular expansion of the range industry is of considerable interest here because of the influence which it had on cattle raising in Iowa. The Iowa producer of young cattle and feeders was placed at a disadvantage because of the great production of cattle of these classes on the ranges. At the same time the cheap feeders stimulated the development of the business of fattening cattle on the low priced corn referred to above.

The accompanying table showing the receipts and shipments of cattle at Chicago gives a fairly good measure of their production after the position of that market became well established in the early sixties. From 1863 to 1868 the receipts remained practically stationary at a little over 300,000 per year, except for the receipt of 384,000 in 1865. After 1868 the receipts began to increase rapidly, exceeding two-thirds of a million in 1872, and passing the million mark in 1876. Figures for the years 1857–1865 were obtained from the twelfth annual report of the Chicago Board of Trade, those for the years 1866–1896 were found in the *Yearbook of Figures* for 1925 of the *Chicago Daily Drovers Journal.*

The greatest boom on the ranges began in 1880-1881. In spite of the increasing receipts of cattle at Chicago, as shown in the table below, the increase in population permitted the sale of a somewhat larger number of cattle at a given price level than previously. But, more effective as a cause of the high prices was the prosperous condition of the country and the boom of 1881-1882.

TABLE II

RECEIPTS AND SHIPMENTS OF CATTLE AT CHICAGO 1857-1896

YEAR	RECEIPTS	SHIPMENTS	YEAR	RECEIPTS	SHIPMENTS
1857	48,524	25,502	1877	1,033,151	703,402
1858	140,534	42,638	1878	1,083,068	699,108
1859	111,694	37,584	1879	1,215,732	726,903
1860	117,101	97,474	1880	1,382,477	886,614
1861	204,579	124,145	1881	1,498,550	938,713
1862	209,655	112,745	1882	1,582,530	921,009
1863	304,448	301,066	1883	1,878,944	966,758
1864	338,840	253,439	1884	1,817,697	791,884
1865	330,301	301,637	1885	1,905,518	744,093
1866	393,007	263,693	1886	1,963,900	704,675
1867	327,524	203,580	1887	2,382,008	791,483
1868	324,514	215,987	1888	2,611,543	968,385
1869	403,102	294,717	1889	3,023,281	1,259,971
1870	532,964	391,709	1890	3,484,280	1,260,309
1871	543,050	401,927	1891	3,250,359	1,066,264
1872	684,075	510,025	1892	3,571,796	1,121,675
1873	761,428	574,181	1893	3,113,406	900,163
1874	843,966	622,929	1894	2,974,363	950,738
1875	920,843	696,534	1895	2,588,558	785,092
1876	1,096,745	797,724	1896	2,600,476	818,326

From 1881 to 1883 there were short corn crops in Iowa. *The Iowa Homestead* of March 24, 1882, said: "The actual scarcity of corn with the opinion prevailing among feeders that the shortage was greater than it probably is, has nearly stopped the feeding of steers for the market. . . . At no time in many years have there been so few cattle feeding in the western States for the late winter and spring market as at present". This, of course, had an effect in raising prices during the early part of 1882. The demand engendered by the boom for stock cattle served to raise prices still higher and gave fresh encouragement to people who were thinking of going into the business, thus adding a greater impetus to the boom.

Glowing pictures were painted of the great profit in the

range cattle business, and of the pleasant life which the cattlemen lived. A large number of these alluring accounts appeared between 1880 and 1882.[44] Partly as a result of such information so many men went into the business in the few years that followed, that by 1885 the ranges were seriously overstocked and prices of cattle were on the down grade. Very different were the articles on the range business published after 1885. These painted a dark and forlorn picture of an over-expanded business, a hard, rough life, disease among the cattle, and big losses during severe winters and dry summers.[45] Thereafter, the problem was not to expand, but to put the industry on a sound and permanent basis.

As the boom for a time accelerated its own growth, so the depression which followed became worse as it proceeded. Its acuteness embarrassed a great many of the cattlemen, forcing them to liquidate by disposing of as many cattle as they could.[46] This added to the size of the runs of cattle at the markets. In 1886 there was a severe drought and a

[44] See, for example, Grohman on *Cattle Ranches in the Far West,* and Von Richthofen's *Cattle Raising on the Plains* in *The Fortnightly Review,* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 438–457.

[45] See, for example, Baumann's *On a Western Ranche* in *The Fortnightly Review,* Vol. XLVII, pp. 516–533.

[46] "The cattle situation in Iowa is now laboring under very great depression, growing out of two distinct causes. One, that of the drought, being immediate, the other is the natural result of their undue inflation in 1882, '83, and '84. Then capitalists all over the Nation saw immense profits in ranches. Iowa and all of the adjoining and far eastern states were called upon for female cattle which were carried out to the ranges in immense numbers, resulting in an inflated market in the states which carried up all classes of cattle with it. With the last two years the general markets have received the increase of these range cattle, and the result has been great depression in prices, intensified by the depressed condition of the manufacturing and commercial interests. The last year has been a disastrous one to many of the ranchmen, great numbers of whom have gone into bankruptcy, and the closing up of their estates demand the immediate marketing of every steer that is at all in condition."— *The Iowa Homestead,* July 29, 1887.

short corn crop followed by another in 1887. In 1888 the corn crop was big and there followed the feeding and marketing of some of the cattle which had been held over.

Together with the increased natural output of the business, the continued liquidation caused the receipts of cattle at Chicago to continue to increase until 1892. The average monthly price of steers weighing from 1200 to 1500 pounds at Chicago declined from over $7.00 in 1882 to less than $4.00 in 1887, then recovered in 1888 to about $5.50. By March, 1889, the price had declined to $3.65. In the spring of 1891 there was another brief recovery followed by a heavy supply in the fall of that year, and the heavy run of 1892, which carried prices down to the neighborhood of $4.00 per hundred pounds. The business had not been contracting in size during these years of low prices because, though cattle were low, corn had been relatively even lower. Since hogs had not been high enough to divert attention away from cattle until after 1890 the best that the farmers could do was to continue to raise cattle to consume the increasing crops of corn.

The cattle business in 1892 had again almost reached the limit to which it could expand, and yet the heavy run of cattle in the markets in 1892 had been followed by rising instead of falling prices. The revival in prices in 1892-1893, however, did not last long. In June the effect of the business depression began to be felt. In the fall of 1893, for instance, five cattle feeders of Sioux County went to Sioux City to buy cattle. Feeder cattle were available at low prices, but of the group of five farmers, only one had any actual money with him. The others expected to borrow the price of the cattle, as they had been doing in the past. But there was no money to borrow, and only the man with the ready cash returned with any cattle to feed.[47]

[47] Interview with an old settler at Ireton.

In the summer of 1894 there was a general and severe drought which dried up the pastures and greatly reduced the corn crop in Iowa and surrounding States. The result was that still more cattle were forced on the market. The over expansion of the early nineties made a liquidation inevitable. It was started by the depression of 1893, and continued by the drought of 1894. Nevertheless the number of beef cattle in the country continued to grow. From forty million head on June 1, 1890, the census records an increase to fifty million on the same date in 1900. In Iowa the number increased from three to three and three-quarters millions, or the same rate of increase as that for the country as a whole.

THE COMING OF THE WESTERN FEEDERS

With the expansion of the business of producing cattle in the country west of the Missouri River, the beef producing business in Iowa underwent a change similar to that which had occurred earlier in Ohio and Illinois. From a producer of cattle from calfhood up, Iowa became, in a large degree, a finisher of cattle raised elsewhere. The small cost for pasture in the production of cattle on the ranges gave the western cattle producing country an advantage over Iowa in the growing of young cattle which slowly forced the raising of feeder stock in the State into a subordinate position. On the other hand the advantage which Iowa possessed in the finishing of cattle for market because of the crops of corn which its rich, black soil could raise, and its position between the range country and the consuming sections of the East provided the essential conditions for a feeding section. Therefore, Iowa, like southeastern Pennsylvania three quarters of a century before, became more highly specialized in the production of beef. Although the growing of cattle from calfhood continued it was in a less

important degree than before. Before the beginning of the twentieth century, it was recognized that the function of the ranges was to produce cattle fattened on grass alone, or else to produce thin cattle. The function of Iowa was to produce cattle on rough land or on by-products of crops, and to put the finish on the thin cattle from the ranges.

The Texas longhorns were the first to be brought into Iowa for feeding and finishing. These cattle are remembered rather vividly by persons who saw them. With their long horns, long legs, and wild dispositions they were not easily forgotten. But, despite their picturesque character they were not of very great importance so far as relative numbers were concerned. Only scattering herds of them found their way into Iowa. Much greater numbers of cattle were being raised in the State, and within a decade after the Texans began to be fed their places were taken by larger numbers of cattle from the west. The Texans were not satisfactory feeders and old settlers have said that they seldom knew of a farmer feeding the longhorns for a second year. They were too wild to be handled except on horseback, and they were wholly unacquainted with corn. Even when they had become somewhat tamer and acquainted with corn they did not usually put on weight nearly as well as native stock. Their significance lies in the fact that they formed a picturesque vanguard for the large numbers of range cattle which were later to be brought into Iowa on their way to market for further finishing. Texas being the first range country developed, it was to be expected that the cheaper cattle raised there would be the first from outside of the State to be fed by the Iowa corn producer.

During the eighties thin cattle from other regions than Texas began to be shipped into Iowa for feeding, and before the middle of the nineties the feeding business was well under way. It should be observed that this shipping

in of cattle from the cheaper pastures of the ranges was not a new and unusual development. It was the same change as had occurred earlier in more eastern feeding sections. Farmers realized that they could buy feeder cattle more cheaply than they could raise them. Therefore, the number of cattle raised declined and the number purchased increased. At first the thin cattle purchased were ones that had been raised on cheaper pastures in more thinly settled sections of Iowa. As the frontier moved westward past the boundaries of Iowa the feeder cattle continued to be sold from the new frontier to the older sections in that State.

Although this change was undramatic, it involved a development which was highly significant in the history of cattle production in the United States. The migration of the cattle feeding industry from section to section, from the Atlantic Coast States to the Mississippi Valley, has been outlined above. But having reached the corn belt, no further migration of the feeding industry to the westward is to be expected. Some sections of the country to the west of the present corn belt may become corn producing centers. But it is not likely that these will produce heavily enough to supplant the corn belt for a considerable period of time, barring new discoveries or new methods of producing corn under semi-arid conditions. Neither is it likely that a new grain will displace corn as a feeding stuff for cattle in the near future. The production of corn and other crops available for cattle feeding has already reached a relatively inelastic limit imposed by climatic conditions. Production of corn beyond this limit is at a rapidly increasing cost.

The feeding of cattle has finally become established in a section where it may be expected to remain for a considerable period of time. The crops which it is now profitable

to grow in the corn belt may be expected to remain essentially unchanged for some decades. The location of the Missouri and Mississippi valleys between the ranges and the consuming centers of the country is a further factor making for the finishing of cattle in the present feeding sections. In other words there are strong reasons for the feeding of cattle in the present locations, and there is no longer a place to the westward to which the feeding business may migrate, unless the methods of beef production or the feeds used, or the type of beef in demand should change very materially.

III

THE DOMINATING INFLUENCES FROM 1896 TO 1926

In 1896 the country was beginning to recover from the period of depression which it had been experiencing since 1893, and to a lesser extent since prices began to decline in 1883. Since 1889 cattle, which had undergone a serious depression after 1884, generally maintained their prices. At the same time most other prices were falling so that cattle really were rising in value. Hogs, on the other hand, were declining in price, and as a consequence were becoming less popular and fewer in number in Iowa. From over seven millions in 1892, the number of hogs in Iowa declined to three and a quarter millions in 1900.

The acreage of corn planted in the State also declined during the late nineties, and there was an increase for a few years in the acreage of wheat, due mostly to the low price of corn. The low price of corn was also one of the reasons for the increase in cattle. Corn and hogs both being low, and cattle improving in price, the natural thing for the Iowa farmer was to turn to the production and the feeding of cattle.

During the late nineties and the first decade of the new

century, there was a rapid improvement in the methods of farming in the State. There was also a very general improvement of farm buildings. The old sheds and small crude houses which characterized the frontier stage, largely disappeared between 1896 and 1914. They were replaced by substantial and commodious buildings which, for convenience and an appearance of well being, probably surpassed the general average of farm buildings in any other large farming area of the country.

The rapid rise of the price of farm land was a sign of its increasing economic productivity. With the general rise in the prices of farm products and the practically stationary rates of freight to the consuming sections of the country, the product per acre of Iowa land came to be worth much more than a decade previously. But there was a deeper and more lasting cause for the rise in agricultural than in other products. The population of the country was continuing to grow rapidly. The agricultural resources, as far as they were limited by natural factors, were able to expand very little. Therefore, as there came to be a need for a larger supply of foodstuffs, farm prices stiffened. This put an end to the disadvantageous situation which had existed a decade or so before, when a large part of the country's population was engaged in producing farm products from the newly opened prairies. The relatively inelastic demand for foodstuffs was now as strong in forcing prices upwards as it had been before in forcing them down.

The rising prices were not the only cause of the improvement in the position of the farmer. There were improvements in the methods of farming which helped him also. These comprised such gradual changes as the adoption of more efficient feeding methods, the planting of crops which offered advantages over the ones previously used, the trying out and partial adoption of the silo, and other factors.

The farming industry seemed to have reached a sound and safe basis. Between 1900 and 1914 the farmers were enjoying an improved and constantly improving situation. There was still much room for improvement, but generally speaking it was a period of prosperity, and one which was not interrupted by any economic cataclysm, nor any serious and unusual interruption in the trends of development. It is, therefore, an excellent period in which to follow the normal and, for the most part, the uninterrupted working out of economic forces.

PRICE TRENDS UNTIL 1914

Prices of cattle increased at a steady rate from 1896 until 1901. In that year an optimistic business outlook started cattle upward at a rapid rate along with hogs and corn for the larger part of a year. This was accelerated by a drought in the summer of 1901 which seriously reduced the corn crop. Consequently, many cattle were sold only partly fat. In 1902 there was a good crop of corn but much of it was soft, and fit only for feeding. There was a large crop of feeder cattle in the range country the same year, many of which had been held over from the preceding year. The result was a heavy run of cattle in the markets in the fall of 1902 and the winter and spring of 1903 with a consequent falling off in prices.[48]

In 1903 there was a slacking up in business and a slight recession in the general price level. Partly as a result of this and of the large production of cattle, corn, and hogs in 1902, the prices of these commodities declined to the level of the early part of 1901. Here they remained with but little change for the next two or three years. Better methods of managing the ranges and the increased productive capacity of the corn belt States resulted in the receipts of

[48] *Wallaces' Farmer*, December 5, 1902, February 20, 1903.

cattle at Chicago running heavier from 1903 to 1907 than at any time since 1892. The price of cattle, during these five years, sunk to the level of the price of hogs or below it.

The supply of range land was beginning to be reduced by settlers, but the rancher could still sell feeder cattle to the Iowan more cheaply than they could be raised in the State. Beef, in Iowa, was becoming a by-product of more intensive farming. This change began to be noted in 1903 or 1904.[49] The farmers who were trying to stick to the older method of production were beginning to complain that there was no money in cattle.

There was also a change in the demands of the market for beef. Whereas the principal demand had been for heavy cattle, and the market had shown its preference for the larger animals by higher prices, there had been a gradual change so that there was no longer a premium on the heavy stock. In 1902 the top price for steers weighing from 1200 to 1350 pounds was the same as for those weighing from 1350 to 1500, and for those weighing over 1500 pounds. There were times after 1902 when there was a premium on

[49] "The cattle interest is now in a transition state, and, as in all transition states, there is as a result a great deal of loss and suffering. . . .

"We have in the past two or three years been passing from the period of wide open ranges, great national pastures where cattle grazed freely on government land, to that of a nation fully settled up and where nearly all of the land that is worth owning has passed into private ownership, and that which has not passed into private ownership is of little value under the conditions now existing.

"The great pastures tributary to water courses have been fenced up, whether legally or illegally. The government may order the fences enclosing these lands taken down, but this means that in many cases these pastures shall not be used for beef production. The corn growing land of the nation has nearly all been occupied, and any increase in the corn crop and any cheapening in the price must result from improved methods of cultivation. There is a possibility of a very large increase, say fifty per cent at least, but this possibility can be realized only by the education of the farmers, which, though certain and sure, is a slow and gradual process."—*Wallaces' Farmer*, June 17, 1904.

the heavy stock but, in general, the preference for the lighter animals became stronger. This tended to accelerate the change in production from the big, mature animals to younger and smaller ones.

THE BOOM AND PANIC OF 1907

In 1907 the cattlemen and other agricultural interests of the West rediscovered the close connection between agriculture and the business of the rest of the country. The boom of 1907 carried corn and cattle prices up with it. There was no objection to this, but there was an outcry against the rise in prices for the things which the farmer had to buy. It was generally realized that the financial and speculative operations in Wall Street were being carried on at too high a level of prices. As early as March, 1907, a panic of some sort was expected as the outcome. But it was not realized that it would seriously affect the farmers. "Farmers were never in better shape to meet trouble than now", said *Wallaces' Farmer*. "The banks are full of money, the cribs full of grain, and the yards full of stock. Lower prices would of course have to be accepted in case there should be a general lack of confidence until confidence is restored."[50] But in any event, there appeared to be little for the farmer to worry about, even if the speculators in Wall Street did become involved in difficulty.

In the last days of October, the "Rich man's" panic began in New York. A banking system, which centralized the reserves of the country in New York, quickly extended it over the rest of the country. The panic and the depression incident to it did not last long, but long enough to embarrass the purchasers of feeding cattle, as well as the rest of the farming population for a few months.

The feeder who had intended to purchase cattle on bor-

[50] *Wallaces' Farmer*, March 22, 1907.

rowed funds in November or later in 1907 found it was practically impossible to carry out his plans. There was practically no money to be had for a month or so, and the result was that many feed yards remained empty. For a short time premiums were demanded for cash at banks in many parts of the country.[51] Clearing house certificates were circulated in place of money. Because of the lack of confidence there was a much greater demand for cash than usual. Where checks or drafts would ordinarily have passed actual money was demanded. It took all the power and ingenuity of the government and financiers of the

[51] "The practical suspension of currency payment on the part of most of the banks of the principal cities of the west on Monday of this week no doubt came as a rude shock to most western farmers and business men. While everybody in the west knew that New York was having quite severe financial trouble, it had not been supposed that it would affect western interests to any extent. The action of the New York banks last week suspending currency payments there, however, brought trouble to us in the west very quickly

"On Saturday the New York banks notified the Chicago banks that they could not draw their surplus cash which they carried there, except in drafts, checks, or clearing house certificates. . . . On Saturday the Chicago Clearing House Association met to determine what should be done in the matter. They found themselves in the position of being called upon to furnish the money they had belonging to other banks but not being able to get their own money which they had on deposit in the New York banks. . . . The Chicago banks, therefore, Saturday night determined to adopt the policy of the New York banks and suspend the cash payments. This passed on the trouble to the banks in cities like Des Moines which carry balances in the Chicago banks. They in turn found themselves in the position of being unable to call in the money which belonged to them in the Chicago banks, and unless they took measures to protect the cash they had in their own vaults at that time it would soon be paid out and none coming in to replace it. On Monday, therefore, the Des Moines clearing house adopted the same policy and notified the people of the state that no money would be sent out but that drafts and checks would be issued as heretofore. This passes the trouble on to the country banker; he has cash in the Des Moines banks but on adoption of this resolution by the clearing house cannot get it. . . . Unless the country bank happens to have in its safe enough cash to meet the needs of its customers for the present week and possibly longer the customers will find themselves in the same position as the banks — they will have the money deposited but they cannot draw it out".— *Wallaces' Farmer,* November 1, 1907.

country to restore confidence in the credit machine. But by borrowing gold from abroad and issuing large quantities of money for a short time, normal credit conditions were restored in January, 1908.

DEVELOPMENT FROM 1907 TO 1914

In 1907 and 1908 there were short corn crops in Iowa, and consequently there was a smaller production of cattle and hogs in 1908 and 1909. The feeding business was affected more than the business of raising cattle. The reduction in the number of cattle raised was not great for two or three years. The greatest number of "other cattle" (beef cattle) ever reported on Iowa farms was reached in the report of the United States Department of Agriculture for January 1, 1907. According to this report, there were nearly four million "other cattle" in Iowa on this date.[52] Thereafter the number gradually declined to two and a half million in 1914, the greatest reduction taking place in 1909.[53] During the same period, the number of hogs fluctuated widely with the corn crops and other factors, but was generally on the increase.

More cereal or vegetable food can be produced per acre

[52] *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1907, p. 714.

[53] "The west has had two years of high priced corn, and the effects are much more far-reaching than may appear to the casual observer. . . . It has led to the heavy marketing of cattle; and it will without much doubt show in the decreased number of cattle in the United States. Considering the uncertainty of the market and the extent to which it is under the control of manipulation, whether that be much or little, many farmers have hesitated to put sixty-cent corn into feeding steers, as they have been accustomed to do in the past. They feel that it is safer to sell the corn and the steer separately than together. The effect of this is seen in the small movement of feeding steers from feeding centers to the farm. Meanwhile there has been a lessened demand for really fat cattle, and a higher price for thin steers which were heretofore regarded as feeder quality, the packer being the competitor of the feeder for anything that showed any amount of fat, and thus increasing the difficulty of filling up the feed yards with any show of profit."—*Wallaces' Farmer*, January 29, 1909.

than food in the form of meats. The growing population and the slowly increasing need for food was causing cereals and vegetable crops to encroach more and more on the domain which had previously been devoted to the production of beef and other meat products. This tendency had been evident for a considerable number of years. It had been obscured by the improvements in farm production between 1900 and 1907. But between 1907 and 1914 it was again becoming evident in the diversion of land from the production of cattle to the production of grain or other crops. A few of the more far seeing producers began to recognize the trend.[54] But as a usual thing there was little apparent

[54] "Many articles are written in all our agricultural papers, telling the farmers how and why they should raise more live stock, in order that the meat supply should not be lessened per capita. Does the thought ever occur to any of these writers that, owing to our rapid increase in population, this condition is naturally logical, and probably unavoidable. The reason the farmer cannot raise more live stock, or perhaps continue to raise as much in the future as he now has, is that it simply does not pay financially to do so; the reason for this being that the price of cereals and vegetable foods tend to increase faster than the price of meats; the reason for this being that the great mass of consumers, in endeavoring to get as much life-sustaining food as possible for the amount of money they have to spend, find it will go much farther if spent for vegetable foods than for meat. The human race can live and go about their business on much less meat than they now consume, and any marked rise in the prices of meats at once reduced the demand and consumption, which automatically reduces the price. This is not true of cereals and vegetables, such as potatoes, beans, etc., as the consumer must have them or starve, and the buying power of the consumer of vegetable foods has never been anyways near exhausted by the highest prices we have ever had. Should oats sell for $1 per bushel, and corn double in price, oatmeal, corn meal, corn starch and various corn products could still be procured by the average man. Anyway, he would have to have them or starvation would ensue. The same relative advance in the prices of meats would almost prohibit consumption.

"There is no use in blaming the packers, farmers or any other class of people, for these fundamental facts, though, of course, monopoly and inefficiency have been contributing minor influences. European conditions will repeat themselves here as our population becomes more dense. Consumption of meat per capita will steadily decrease, and the struggle to procure a plentiful supply of bread will become the main question. The fertility of our soils will have to be maintained largely by pasturage and the manure made from roughage, our rougher lands being kept in pasture and meadow probably all the

conception, on the part of the "practical" man, of the nature of the underlying forces which were increasing the cost of his feeds faster than of his cattle and were, therefore, slowly making it less profitable for him to raise cattle and more profitable to raise other things. It was easy to complain about the packer, or the railroad, or commission men, or to say that a mysterious "they" were forcing down the price of his product and robbing him of the return which he should have, but it was difficult for the "practical" man to generalize correctly, or to comprehend the impersonal forces which in the long run govern his economic life. It was much easier to blame his troubles on something which he could see or which he knew existed in tangible form.

IMPROVEMENT IN CROPS AND IN METHODS OF PRODUCING

The increase in prices of corn and hogs, which was tending to displace the production of beef from the farm business, was arrested about 1900 by improvements in forage crops and in the methods of production which gave the beef enterprise a new lease on life. The first of these improvements was the supplanting of the low grade prairie hay and timothy by leguminous forage crops. Clover began to be planted in almost every section of Iowa soon after it was

time, while the bottom lands and the rich, black, level lands will sell nearly all the grain produced. Should the fertility be depleted or threatened, it can probably be maintained by sowing legumes and increasing the percentage of pasture land, most of the cattle being sold grass fat, and the grain sold for human consumption.

"I sell both grain and live stock, and for several years back have obtained an average price of about 70 cents per bushel for my corn, some time during the summer following the year in which it was grown, which, everything considered, brings me more clear money than any method of feeding I have discovered. By keeping a relatively large per cent of my land in pasture and meadow, and making all the manure possible from the roughage and some grain, I am increasing the fertility of the soil. I find many of my neighbors think as I do on this question."—Letter from C. L. Snow of Illinois in *Wallaces' Farmer*, March 17, 1916.

settled, but it was often several years before good crops were grown. This crop permitted a conservation of soil fertility and the production of a larger quantity of more nutritive feed per acre than had been possible with prairie hay or timothy which had also been planted soon after settlement. Clover, too, helped in putting a higher finish on the cattle and in keeping the young stock gaining more rapidly through the winter, thereby adding impetus to the tendency to finish and sell the cattle at an earlier age. About 1903 farmers began to experiment with alfalfa in various parts of the State. It provided a heavier yield per acre than clover and contained even more protein.

Between 1904 and 1910 silos began to be built for beef cattle in some sections. The silo found its most profitable use in the eastern feeding area — in Iowa and Johnson counties and to the east. In this section little alfalfa was grown, and the silage provided a succulent forage which helped to keep cattle on a heavy feed and permitted a good rate of gain.

Experiments at agricultural experiment stations in the latter part of the nineteenth century demonstrated the insufficiency of the protein content of corn for feeding purposes. The use of nitrogenous supplements increased rapidly from the last few years in the nineteenth century until 1907 or 1908 when their use had become common if not general. The higher cost of pasturage which resulted from a higher value of the use of land for other purposes, forced a more careful use of land in the production of cattle. This included an attempt to mature the cattle for market at an earlier age than previously. The age of the finished steer was reduced from three or four years in the eighties to about two years or two and a half in the period just prior to 1910.

The beef producing industry of Iowa had assumed a

rather stable character by 1905 or 1907. It had developed into two fairly distinct forms of enterprises. In the rougher sections of the State where there was some land which could be tilled only with difficulty the beef industry developed through the use of pasture land in maintaining small herds of breeding cattle. The breeding stock was used to convert the roughage of the farm, which was largely a by-product, into marketable beef. The calves were produced under relatively intensive conditions, and were used to convert the higher grades of feed, such as corn, into a high grade of beef. The other type of beef enterprise consisted in feeding the western steers which had been grown under extensive conditions on the ranges but which had not been brought to a high state of finish. By feeding them for a few months on a grain ration it was possible to increase the quality of their flesh and to save freight on the corn which they consumed.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AND ITS INFLUENCE ON CATTLE PRODUCTION

During the years 1912, 1913, and 1914, the average prices of beef cattle were on a higher level, relative to the general price level, than they had been for any period since 1840 when the available data relative to the two series begins. With the outbreak of the war in Europe in August, 1914, there was a period of business uncertainty due to the breaking off of trade connections and interruptions of ocean traffic. The price of fat cattle at Chicago declined from an average of $9.60 per hundred which was reached in September, 1914, in anticipation of a heavy and immediate wartime demand which did not materialize, to an average of $7.90 per hundred in February, 1915. The price then fluctuated between this low point and $9.50 until March, 1916, when it began to rise.

The weakening of cattle prices at the beginning of the war was accompanied by a similar movement on the part of hogs and corn. The same was true of many products which were not in immediate demand for military purposes. In November, 1915, the price of corn started upwards preceding cattle by about three months. Hogs started up in December two months ahead of cattle. These three products continued to rise rapidly until the late fall of 1917. Corn advanced the most rapidly, and cattle the least. Meantime, the prices of most non-agricultural commodities were likewise climbing but at a slower rate than farm products. This condition, which was caused by the increased demand for food products from Europe, resulted in an advantageous condition for the producer of cattle, corn, and hogs, and greatly stimulated their production. The acreage planted in corn in the United States increased from one hundred and three million acres in 1914 to one hundred and sixteen million in 1917, the greatest acreage of corn which had ever been planted in this country. From 1914 to 1919 the number of "other cattle" in the country increased from approximately 36,000,000 to 45,000,000, and the number of hogs from 58,000,000 to 74,000,000. In Iowa the corn acreage grew from 10,248,000 in 1914 to 11,100,000 in 1917. The number of beef cattle on Iowa farms increased from 2,555,000 in 1914 to 2,919,000 in 1918, and the number of hogs from 6,976,000 to 10,822,000 in 1919.[55]

As in the case of the Civil War, the World War disturbed and distorted the natural trends, so that for a time it may have appeared to some that the old forces and tendencies had ceased to operate. Because of the rapidly rising prices, the farmers were stimulated to use every device known to them to increase their production. Although the price of

[55] Data from the Bureau of Crop Estimates of the United States Department of Agriculture.

corn rose most rapidly and highest, there was a greater proportional increase in the number of beef cattle in the country than in the acreage of corn. This was largely due to the depletion of the supply of farm labor by the demands of war industries, which outbid the farmers for labor. It became more pronounced after the United States entered the war and drafted a large portion of the remaining supply of farm labor, forcing the farmers to turn to the growing of more wheat and other crops of extensive culture from necessity as well as from patriotic motives.

The remarkable increase in the productivity of the farmers of the country, who with fewer men worked longer hours, and applied all the improved methods they could, increasing their capital to replace the missing laborers, gave to most persons a new conception of the possibility of agricultural expansion. It was much the same as the growth of productivity during the Civil War, and was stimulated by very similar causes. The increased prices of their products provided the necessary stimulus to a class of people who reaped the profits on their own exertions.

The fall in prices late in 1914 and early in 1915 discouraged the farmers, especially the cattle feeders, who had bought cattle in the fall at high rates, expecting prices to rise immediately, and then had sold at a loss in the winter before any rise commenced. In the summer there was a sharp rise, which again gave some hope to the prospective feeder. But the epidemic of hoof and mouth disease, which had broken out in the fall of 1914, still caused a quarantine against some markets as sources of feeder cattle. A general apprehension of danger to cattle within a wide radius of any area where the disease prevailed discouraged some from feeding. Moreover, a needless fear of beef on the part of some consumers helped for some months to keep down the prices of beef.

The expectation of higher prices, however, led to the putting of more cattle on feed, and there was a turning to better methods which was largely forced on the farmers by the high prices of feeds and labor.[56] The rising prices, when they came, caused a heavy shipment of any stock that was at all fit to sell. It also caused the keeping of more heifer calves than before. The result was a very heavy run of live stock beginning in 1916. This was accomplished by the selling of all cattle that could be dispensed with, and the selling of steers younger and lighter in weight than at any time previously.

The cattle feeder, who had cattle to buy in the fall of 1916, bought under conditions in which there was a spread of two to four dollars between the price of thin stock and fat cattle. In the fall of 1917 the spread was from four to six dollars. In 1918 it was from five to seven dollars. This was a more favorable condition than had obtained in the feeding business for a great many years, as far as the proportionate margin was concerned. It was the most favorable that had ever existed considering the actual margin. In addition to the wide margin, the rising prices were a source of profit to the man who was holding cattle. The longer he kept them the greater was the gain over the price paid for them. Thus if a farmer bought feeder cattle in October, 1916, paying the average price of that month for them, they would have cost him $6.60. If he put them on a short feed, of ninety days for example, he would have been able to get for them about $10.70 in January, 1917, giving him a margin of $4.10; but if he kept them three months

[56] A Missouri correspondent writes: "I have been feeding cattle for forty-five years, and when I could buy feeders and corn at a reasonable price, I could generally make a little money, but since cattle and corn have become so high, I find that I can not break even by feeding straight corn. I must quit the business or try some new methods. I have decided to try some of the new fangled schemes which the experiment stations recommend so highly".—*Wallaces' Farmer*, December 24, 1915.

longer and sold in April he would have received $12.35, or a margin of $5.75.

Under these conditions there was a heavy demand for cattle for feeding purposes in the fall of 1917. Although there was a recession in price early in 1918, it recovered in the spring, and the average price for 1200 to 1500 pound steers rose to $17.65 in September, the highest average price for this class on record. There was, however, a great deal of uncertainty in the situation.[57] Conditions fluctuated so rapidly that a good deal of courage was required to buy feeders. Feeders had never before been so high, and corn could easily be sold at prices which would have seemed fantastic a few years before. The speculative feature of feeding was greatly in evidence.

During 1917 the prices of hogs shot up past that of cattle because of European demands. The general average price of hogs in Chicago reached $18.20 in September, while cattle were at $14.50. Thereafter, until late in 1919, hogs maintained a lead over cattle. This made the production of hogs even more profitable than that of cattle. Consequently the number of hogs in Iowa increased from less than seven millions on January 1, 1914, to nearly eleven millions on the same date in 1919, while the beef cattle in

[57] "The customary spread between fairly good feeders and good fat steers (average, not top) has been just a little over two cents. During the past year, however, the spread has been considerably greater than this, probably on account of the extremely high price of corn. It is a remarkable thing at the present time to see feeders selling for from $8 to $11 per cwt., whereas fat steers are bringing $16 to $18 per cwt. In other words, there seems to be three or four times as much spread as is customary. . . . With $1.20 corn in prospect, the cattle feeder would seem to have a chance to make good money. On the basis of $90 for a fairly good 1,000-pound feeder in October, and $1.20 for new corn, the average man ought to make a good profit if his steers sell fat in the spring at anything over $12.50 per cwt. But of course corn may be higher than $1.20 per bushel, and cattle may be lower than $12.50 per cwt. That's where the gamble comes in. Nevertheless, all signs point to an extremely profitable winter for cattle feeders."—*Wallaces' Farmer*, October 12, 1917.

the State increased during the same period, only from 2,555,000 to 2,861,000.

The price of corn was rising even more rapidly than that of either cattle or hogs. From January, 1916, to September, 1917, the monthly average price of corn in Chicago rose from 76 cents to $2.09. This meant that it was more profitable to sell corn than to feed it either to hogs or cattle. The profit which might be made in feeding came from an increase in the price of the live stock while they were being kept on the farm and fed, and not from a favorable relationship between the prices of corn and cattle. The result was that beginning in 1917 there was a tendency to market the corn and cattle separately. In 1917, however, corn was severely damaged by early frosts and this forced the feeding of a large amount of corn that would otherwise have been sold.

With the entry of the United States into the war in 1917 the government assumed control over many industries. Dealers in food products especially were placed under a licensing system which gave the government more or less supervision over the trade. The prices of meats and other food products were strongly influenced by the large purchases for war purposes. To prevent a possible shortage of meat products, "meatless days" were inaugurated to the disappointment of the producers of meat, who had hoped to see prices go higher still. All possible objections were advanced during this period to government regulations; not to government regulations over most industries, or over industries in general in time of war, but to the specific regulation which each person thought was putting him and his industry at a disadvantage as compared to others. Thus, cattle feeders believed that "meatless days should be confined to pork only".[58]

[58] *Iowa Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1917, p. 349.

DEPRESSION AND RECOVERY AFTER THE WAR

The farming industry had hardly become adjusted to war time conditions when the war closed. There followed a short period of uncertainty, and then, in anticipation of a heavy demand for foods from Europe, the prices of cattle strengthened and held at about $17.00 for fat steers for nearly a year. The price of hogs, meantime, continued to advance, because of the demand in Europe for pork products and fats. In the summer of 1919, hogs were from three to six dollars above cattle, despite the smaller receipts of cattle at markets caused partly by the drought in the southwestern range country. There had been three dry years there, and as a consequence cattlemen had been forced to sell heavily to reduce the numbers of cattle on the range.

In the fall of 1919, the government launched an attack on the high cost of living by selling surplus war supplies of food products. This precipitated a rapid decline in the price of hogs from nearly $22.00 to below $14.00 in five months. Cattle declined more slowly. But the period of highly profitable feeding was ended for a few years. While prices were on the decline no matter what the margin between fat cattle and feeders was when they were bought, the decline between the date of purchase and sale would wipe out the margin and cut off most of the possible profit. Now the reverse of the earlier situation arose — the longer the cattle were kept the greater the loss.

In the spring of 1920, with the post war boom well under way and nearing its peak, farmers began to pluck up courage. The fall in prices, most of them argued, had already taken place, and the storm was over.[59] During the sum-

[59] In reply to an inquiry as to the outlook for cattle feeding a writer in *Wallaces' Farmer* said: "In the first issue of every month we publish a chart showing steer profits and losses. If our correspondent will refer to page 1515 of our issue of June 4th, he will note in our last profit-and-loss chart that fat cattle have now been exceedingly unprofitable for over a year. After they

mer, however, with the industrial boom at an end and prices already beginning to fall, many realized that tight money might possibly interfere to some extent with the fat cattle market in the fall.[60] Corn began its phenomenal fall from an average of $2.03 in March, 1920, to 78 cents per bushel in December. Between October and February, cattle dropped from $15.30 to $8.80. Between September and January hogs fell from $15.90 to $9.40.

The indignant astonishment which resulted from this rapid decline in prices was well described in *Wallaces' Farmer* on November 5, 1920: "The farmers of the nation are thoroughly stirred up over the tremendous drop in the prices of their crops. Meetings are being held; conferences are called; committees are sent here and there; protests are being made in the papers; farmers are urged to hold their crops off the market. Everybody who has a real interest in Agriculture is casting about to find some way to stop the ruinous decline in prices, but no one seems to know just how to do it".

Corn, which is largely a raw material for the making of pork and beef, fell first and fastest. If hogs and cattle were unprofitable, there was to be little demand for corn. Consequently corn declined from $2.03 in March, 1920, to 46 cents in October, 1921. During the period of the most rapid decline hogs moved a little ahead of cattle but fell by about the same amount. The decline in cattle was from

have been unprofitable for this length of time, there is a chance for things to start the other way. Of course, fattening cattle may not become profitable again as early as this fall, but if not by that time, the chance for profitable prices by next spring will be better. No one can predict with any certainty as to the short swings of the market, especially in these uncertain times. We believe it possible, however, to make a rough guess as to the long swings, and therefore venture the opinion that some time during the next year the fattening of cattle will again become relatively profitable."— *Wallaces' Farmer*, June 11, 1920.

[60] *Wallaces' Farmer*, July 9, 1920.

$15.70 in July, 1920, to $7.20 in December, 1921, using as a basis the average monthly price for 1200 to 1500 pound steers in Chicago. The decline was disastrous to many cattle feeders, who saw their investment in feeding stock melt away so that many received less for their fat steers, after feeding their corn crop to the cattle, than they had paid for the feeders.

In 1922 the price of cattle moved upward strongly until October, when a slight recession set in. With prices rising the year proved a favorable one for the cattleman, and especially for the feeder. Consequently the late summer and fall saw practically a doubling of the ordinary shipments of cattle into Iowa for feeding. The farmers and cattlemen were again getting on their feet after the deflation of cattle prices, and were again venturing as boldly as ever. There was heavy feeding in 1922 and 1923 but in general the number of cattle in Iowa and the numbers fed showed only minor year to year fluctuations until 1926.

The attempts to shift production on Iowa farms from the less to the more profitable enterprises are particularly interesting in giving some idea of the degree of flexibility of the farm business.

The relationship between beef production and the production of milk, for example, in sections which were essentially beef producing districts, was modified in a significant manner. Prior to 1914 the drift from beef towards dairying was very slight. After 1915, with the price of grains rising rapidly and with labor becoming more and more scarce, the number of cows milked fell off. The prices of dairy products were then lagging behind those of beef, hogs, and grain, hence the movement was towards the production of these other commodities. At the end of the war the situation was reversed. The prices of dairy products were again lagging behind grain and beef. But this time

the prices were moving down instead of up. The beef producer was now in a bad way. He had invested his labor and capital in the production of cattle, and in growing grain at a high level of costs. He now had a choice between selling his grain at an extremely low level of price and incurring a heavy loss on it, or of feeding it to his cattle likewise at a loss. No matter which way he looked there was no opportunity for a profit on the crops of 1920. He could not sell out and quit farming, because the price of land and everything else he owned was at such a low level for the time being, that to sell, even if he could find a buyer, would be to incur a still heavier loss than from continuing to run his farm.

The problem was one of choosing the smallest loss, and of scraping together every penny that could be obtained until times improved. The dairy industry was one that weathered the storm better than most others. But there were very few farmers who could have gone into the dairy business in 1920 or 1921. They did not have the money to buy dairy cattle. The beef cattle already on the Iowa farms, however, offered a partial solution. The farmer discovered that milk or cream was worth something and that he had not been selling nearly as much of these commodities as he could. Therefore the milking of cows in beef herds increased greatly in nearly all parts of the State from 1920 to 1922. In a few sections there was an increase in actual dairying, and a considerable number of cows of the dairy breeds were brought in from dairy sections such as Wisconsin and Minnesota.

For the most part the milking of more cows was a temporary thing. As soon as the prices of grain, beef, and pork began to recover, and it became worth more to take care of these enterprises than to milk, milking was largely abandoned. Only in a few counties near the older dairying sec-

tions and in a few isolated areas, was there any permanent increase in dairying.

The problem of combining dairying and beef production was again taken into consideration. This time, however, not so much was made of the possibility as on earlier occasions. The cows of the dairy breeds had become more specialized as milk producers, and partly as a consequence, their average production was so much above that of the beef cattle that farmers generally agreed that the bona fide dairy cow and not a beef type was the one to be used if real dairying was to be undertaken. On the other hand the use of calves from dairy herds as second rate beef animals was still thought of as a possibility.[61] The growing number of dairy cattle in the country was making this type of beef too plentiful to be overlooked. In Iowa it was represented by the feeders which were produced in the dairy area and from there sold to other parts of the State. The number of these cattle had been fluctuating from time to time as the market discriminated more or less in the type of feeders it would take, and as the dairy business waned or waxed prosperous.

IV

STOCKING A STATE WITH CATTLE

It is not the purpose of this study to recite the history of breed improvement in Iowa at length. The leaders in the development of the purebred cattle of the State have rendered a valuable service, and their achievements are well

[61] "About 40 per cent of the beef marketed in the United States comes from the dairy. Probably 18,000,000 calves are born from dairy cows every year, and of these at least 12,000,000 are slaughtered as calves. Some few are probably grown and marketed as steers. In addition to these 12,000,000 calves, about 4,000,000 dairy cows and about 5,000,000 dairy bulls are sent to the butcher annually. On a rough estimate, more than 3,000,000,000 pounds of edible beef comes from the dairies each year, as compared with about 5,000,000,000 pounds of edible beef from beef cattle."— *Wallaces' Farmer*, February 1, 1918.

worth setting forth at length, as are the blood lines of the outstanding cattle of the principal breeds. But a study in economic history, such as the present one, is more concerned with the causes for the improvement in breeding in the form of higher possible profits from the better cattle, and with the economic consequences of the breed improvement.

The first cattle of Iowa were driven into the State either from the region east of the Mississippi River or from Missouri on the south. The meeting of these two lines of influence in Iowa is an interesting event in the history of the settlement of the Middle West. Missouri, or the eastern and central parts of it, was settled earlier than Iowa. Iowa was, therefore, an area in which two streams of settlement converged, bringing into it the practices of the feeding areas of Illinois and of the more extensive types of cattle raising from Missouri. The first cattle of Iowa came from the common stock of these two sections. They were from stock that had been driven from section to section of the country since its colonization, generally moving westward and mixing more or less with cattle from other sections in each new locality. Consequently they were, as the report from Allamakee County to the Iowa State Agricultural Society of 1857 states, "Much like the other stock, a mixture of everything".

The cattle which entered Iowa from Missouri were described as being small in size and inferior in breeding.[62]

[62] "Now what breeds of cattle do we find in Iowa? The most of our fine stockmen will say scrubs. . . . In Michigan, Wisconsin, and northern Iowa we find grades from the Devons, central Iowa grades from the Shorthorns; in fact the leading blood is shorthorn. In the southern part of Iowa there is a small race of cattle that have travelled westward through the Carolinas, through Tennessee. These are generally called scrubs, and are inferior. But farmers in Iowa have for many years been breeding from the highest grades in their possession.

"Some very common steers, that I raised and fed, at four years old — or

They were descended from the stock which formed the basis of the cattle industry in the Carolinas in the late eighteenth century. The stock had travelled westward through Tennessee and into Missouri on its way to Iowa. The cattle in the more northern parts of Iowa had been introduced into the State largely from Illinois and had had the advantage of the improved breeding of the stock of Kentucky, Ohio, and Illinois, into which States stock of improved English breeds had been coming since the beginning of the century.

The cattle of Iowa were characterized differently by different observers. A correspondent in Blackhawk County in reporting to the Iowa State Agricultural Society in 1857 says that there the cattle are generally good, that there are some purebreds, the breeds being "Durhams, Devons and Ayrshires". In Iowa County, according to the report, there were then no purebreds but some grade Shorthorns. Shorthorns were reported the favorite breed in nearly all parts of the State.

Even to a casual examiner of the records of the time it is obvious that much, or perhaps most of the stock reported as "purebred", "blooded", and "improved" were only grades and often not very good grades at that, a rather fine distinction to this effect is made by a correspondent in Kossuth County in reporting to the Iowa State Agricultural Society in 1858. He said, "We have no bulls in the County of any known pedigree, but two of the Devon variety."[63]

From the beginning of the settlement in Iowa there have

rather three and a half — three weighed over 1800 pounds, and the balance ranging from 1400 to 1800. These steers were fed some oats and meal when calves, afterwards wintered upon prairie hay. Now, after many years of breeding and crossing with the shorthorns, my steers at the same age weigh from 1500 to 2000 pounds, with a better quality."— Communication from Andrew Hastie of Warren County in *The Iowa Homestead*, January 14, 1870.

[63] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1858, p. 301.

always been some men with an interest in improving the cattle of the State, and each year claims are made to substantial improvement made during the immediate past. But the first breeders of better stock had a particularly difficult problem. Fences were very few and the cattle were almost always to be found running at large on the prairies, mixing indiscriminately with the best and the worst of the section and often wandering a considerable distance from home. Under these conditions it was extremely difficult to improve the blood of any one herd. The incentive to the purchase of better stock was therefore very weak until fences became more general.

There are conflicting claims as to the identity of the "first" purebred cattle of beef breeds brought into Iowa. In the *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society* for 1857 it is stated that "In 1840 Charles A. Hatfield brought a Shorthorn bull to this country (Muscatine County) which was a very superior animal. He was from an imported cow and sired in England". This bull was later taken to Scott County. The name of Timothy Day of Van Buren County stands out as an early breeder of Shorthorns and as one who accomplished much in raising the standards of quality of beef cattle in Iowa. It has been said that Mr. Day brought into Iowa the first purebred Shorthorns[64] and that he was the first systematic breeder of registered Shorthorns in Iowa.[65] In the spring of 1850 he bought of Brutus J. Clay of Bourbon County, Kentucky, a yearling bull, weight 1,000 pounds, for which he paid one hundred dollars, and three heifers, paying seventy-five dollars for one and fifty dollars for each of the other two. He also bought the bull calf Fillimore for one hundred dollars.

[64] *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Iowa State Improved Livestock Breeders Association*, 1881, p. 102.

[65] Sanders's *Shorthorn Cattle*, pp. 330–332.

At the first Iowa State Fair at Fairfield in 1854 H. G. Stuart of Lee County and Timothy Day of Van Buren County exhibited Shorthorns or "Durhams" as they were then called. It was stated in the report of the ninth Iowa State Fair held at Dubuque in 1862 that Judge T. S. Wilson of Dubuque had imported "Durhams" into Iowa "twenty years" prior to that date.[66] In 1858, J. H. Wallace, Secretary of the Iowa State Agricultural Society, published what he called the *Iowa Herd Book* and continued it for a few years. This shows no record of cattle calved prior to 1849. But there is a record of a purebred bull having been taken into Muscatine County in 1841 by Charles A. Warfield, and one was bought by Colonel E. W. Lucas of Iowa City in 1845.

It is not worth while to quibble about who was the "first" to introduce any given breed into the State, but it is important that such men as Day succeeded in arousing a lively interest in the improvement of stock, so that in the *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society* for 1858 it could be said "you will scarcely find a farmer, of any pretensions whatever, who is not making some effort at improvement" of his cattle.[67] Most of the purebreds in Iowa at the time were Shorthorns, for the same *Report* declares, "we know of no Herefords in the State". It also mentions frauds made possible by a lively but undiscriminating interest in improvement, which led to the sale at various places of grades under the name of purebreds.

As to the number of cattle in the State and the rate of their increase, the best evidence is to be found in the census reports, but the development between 1840 and 1860 was so rapid that figures at more frequent intervals are to be desired. For this it is necessary to rely on the indefinite data

[66] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1862, p. 206.

[67] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1858, p. 12.

to be gotten from the memory of old settlers and estimates in the reports of agricultural societies. On the volume of business done in selling cattle for eastern consumption or to stock the western part of the State, only the latter two sources of information are available.

TABLE III

CATTLE IN IOWA ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS

YEAR	NUMBER OF BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA OTHER THAN MILK CATTLE	YEAR	NUMBER OF BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA OTHER THAN MILK CATTLE
1840	38,049	1890	3,394,765
1850	69,025	1900	3,943,982
1860	293,322	1910	3,041,214
1870	614,366	1920	3,048,198
1880	1,755,343		

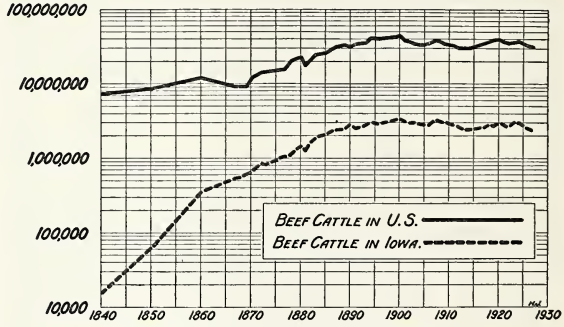
The information which can be obtained from the old settlers is less definite but more descriptive than that available from other sources. An old settler in Winneshiek County, who was taken there as a child in 1853, reported that according to his memory there were only two or three cows per farm up to the late fifties.[68] These were scrubs kept mostly for milk for the family. The calves were killed for veal, or if kept for steers were for home or neighborhood consumption rather than for sale to the East. In this section the cattle did not seem to multiply very rapidly. But the rate of increase and the interest shown in cattle varied from county to county. In Decatur County, which was settled a few years earlier,[69] and where Leon was an organized town in 1853, droves of as many as 160 head

[68] Interviews with E. L. Beard of Decorah.

[69] From a correspondent in Decatur County: "Our county is a new one. We have been organized only five years, but still we have about 8,000 inhabitants."—*Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1857, p. 231.

were being driven east to Chicago or to markets along the Mississippi or in Illinois as early as 1857, showing that cattle had already become rather plentiful in that section.

In the *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society* for 1857, it appears that considerable numbers of cattle were being sold from the eastern and southeastern counties of the State, but few from the sections a hundred miles or more west of the Mississippi. In Jackson County about

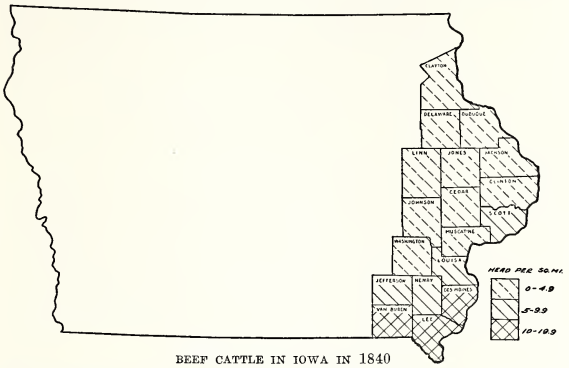


BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA AND THE UNITED STATES

4000 were slaughtered "for export" or driven out of the county.[70] In Johnson County cattle and hogs were raised in large numbers for export, and were "mostly marketed in Muscatine, Chicago and New York". From Lee County about 2000 were driven to the Chicago, St. Louis, and New York markets. From Mahaska County, a few cattle were driven out, but 14,300 head were enumerated by the assessors and were assessed at $167,000. Along the southern border of the State in 1857, Davis County reported that it had no large stock raisers, but two or three who raise 100 head annually, and estimated that 5726 head were sold that

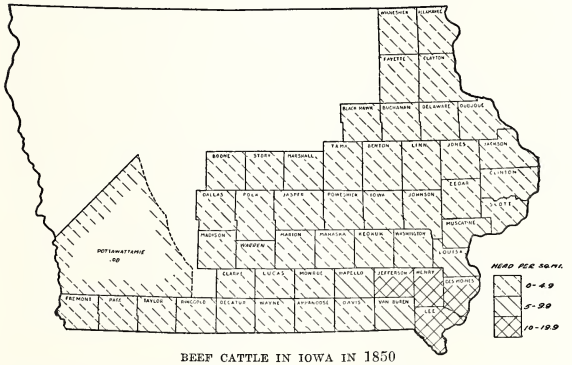
[70] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1858.

year for $109,256, an average of $19.08 per head. This county was filling up rapidly with settlers and reported



BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA IN 1840

90,000 acres in cultivation. A year later in Appanoose County adjoining Davis on the west the number of cattle



BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA IN 1850

driven to market was reported at about ten or twelve hundred, a situation which illustrates the abruptness with

which settlement ended to the westward at this early date.

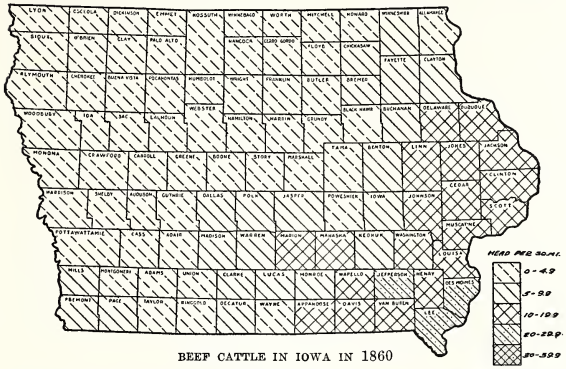
In the central part of the State, Marshall County reported in 1857 that no cattle were driven to market from there—"the high price at home preventing. We are not sufficiently stocked yet to have a surplus for export".[71] One year later, Boone County, the second county west of Marshall, reported the exportation of 300 cattle.

THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD AND THE PUREBRED BOOM OF THE SEVENTIES

During the Civil War there was but little interest evinced in the improvement of cattle. The interest of the producers was focused for the time on sheep because of the high price of wool. The number of cattle in Iowa was, however, increasing rapidly because of the growth in the number of settlers in the State, and even more because the settlers were trying to increase their live stock as much as possible in order to make use of the prairies. At the end of the war, with sheep unprofitable and consequently unpopular, attention was again turned to cattle. During the decade from 1860 to 1870 the number of cattle other than milk cows in the State more than doubled, and with the increase in numbers there was also a development of interest in the improvement of the type and breeding of the stock for which there was great need. The scrub cattle which were being raised on most Iowa farms produced neither a profitable animal nor a good quality of beef. The improved stock which was being brought into the country and into Iowa was very plainly superior to the native stock both in economy in the use of feed and labor and in the quality of the finished animal. With cattle profitable and with the advantages of the better bred stock obvious to the producers, a lively boom in pedigreed stock resulted. The unfortunate

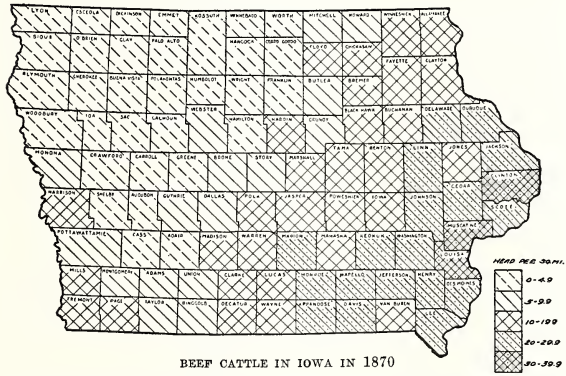
[71] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1857.

part of the boom was that the purebreds were kept for the most part in the herds of a few men who were speculating



BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA IN 1860

on their pedigrees, and their prices rose beyond the reach of the ordinary breeder.



BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA IN 1870

The high prices of the purebreds made them unattainable to most of the farmers. Also, the newness of the country,

and the fact that the settlers were able to afford only the cheapest cattle postponed the improvement of the stock for some time after material gains had been made in Illinois and other sections to the east. In *The Iowa Homestead* of February 9, 1877, C. D. Reinking said: "We cannot, with our common cattle, compete with the high grade steers grown in Illinois, and other states where they have made considerable improvement by crossing". After the decline of the purebred boom prices on such stock became much lower, but still they seemed much out of reach of the ordinary farmer.

The general condition of the Iowa cattle at this period was well described by James MacDonald in 1878 as follows:

> At least three-fourths (probably more) of the whole cattle stock of the state are what are known as the "common" cattle of the country — a nondescript, strangely mixed class, mostly descended from one or other or all of the different breeds early introduced into America. To be sure, they are a degree or two better than the Colorado and Texas cattle; but still, considering the fine rich country which they cover, they are very far from what they ought to be. They are indeed an inferior class of cattle — big boned, high standing, unshapely, flatribbed, sharp shouldered, and coarse in quality. They have no lack of size; they would in fact, rank higher in the stock-yards were their big rough form moulded down into one more even, more compact, and above all, better in quality. All Iowa's share of these cattle are bred within itself, every farmer having four, eight, ten, twenty, or forty or more cows, according to the extent of his holding and the dimensions and content of his dollar sack.[72]

The collapse of the boom in Shorthorns was of as great a benefit as the boom itself — or perhaps more. It brought the prices of the purebreds more nearly within the reach of the ordinary breeder of beef cattle.[73] Advantage of the

[72] MacDonald's *Food from the Far West*, Ch. XV, pp. 120, 121.

[73] "When Short-horns were selling at from five hundred to five thousand dollars, and the market was in the hands of fancy breeders and speculators,

lower prices was taken, and purebreds were more freely bought by the farmers. In 1884 it was claimed that from thirty-five to forty per cent of the Shorthorn bulls in the central-western district of the State were pedigreed.[74] About 1880 the Herefords also began to gain in prominence in the State, and a few Polled Angus began to come in. In 1886, it was said that the Polled Angus had become "very popular".[75]

The importance of better breeding as well as better feeding was being impressed on the farmers by the agricultural papers, agricultural societies, and others.[76] It was coming to be realized that the producer of the better bred stock had an advantage over the one with the lower grade stock. "There is no good reason", said one writer on the subject, "why a steer should be three years in reaching a thousand pounds. That weight can just as well be made with even less feed in eighteen months."[77]

In 1886 a report from Johnson County said that purebred cattle were "increasing very rapidly." Prices ranged from $75.00 to $300.00 per head while grades and dairies ranged from $35.00 to $50.00.[78] During the period of de-

who often, by collusion and bogus bids, loaded pampered and useless cattle upon the unwary granger; the best thing that the granger could do was to keep out. But now that the bubble had burst, and good Short-horns can be bought at from one hundred dollars upward, and they have been brought within the reach of the common farmer, or granger, the business is on a solid basis and is not only safe but is highly profitable."— *The Iowa Homestead,* February 13, 1885.

[74] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society,* 1884, p. 358.

[75] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society,* 1886, p. 448.

[76] "We are satisfied that four hundred and fifty pounds will catch the average steer twelve months old, and nine hundred and twenty-five pounds the average two year old feeder. We say to farmers only what they know full well, that there is no money in raising these cattle."— *The Iowa Homestead,* April 27, 1888.

[77] *The Iowa Homestead,* April 2, 1886.

[78] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society,* 1886, p. 393.

pression in the cattle business in the late eighties and early nineties there was a wide divergence in the development of cattle breeding. Improvement was continued by a part of the breeders. But a great many lost interest for a while, so that a number of sections report that their cattle were going backward in grade rather than improving.

FENCING

Although the desirability of fencing may now seem clear, in the sixties and seventies there was vigorous argument in favor of and against the practice. The question was raised as to whether it was most profitable to fence the stock *in* the pasture or to fence them *out* of the crops. On the one hand was the damage to the crops caused by cattle, or other stock running at large. It was practically impossible to breed good stock, declared one writer, when "as a general thing, the scrub males are allowed to run at large". Speaking on this subject in 1865, H. B. Hoyt said, "Until we have a more stringent law in regard to male animals roaming over our prairies at will, those that would improve their stock, cannot."[79] On the other hand there was the expense of building fences in neighborhoods where timber was scarce, and where the labor was needed for other things which seemed more pressing. Likewise, there was still free pasturage in most parts of the State and the man with little property but cattle and without help to tend the cattle, objected strenuously to being deprived of the use of the free prairies. The "poor man's rights" were being invaded.[80]

The battle waged over this question of free pasturage.

[79] Address by H. B. Hoyt in the *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1865, p. 317.

[80] Mr. Spurrier of Johnson County, in a debate in the "Farmers' Club" of the legislature said: "The poor man with eighty acres of land can keep as many cattle as the man with his many sections, as long as he is not required to fence them in."— *The Iowa Homestead*, March 16, 1864.

It provided a source of income which was not to be surrendered without opposition. J. W. Cessna of Nevada in *The Iowa Homestead* of March 1, 1872, declared that the free pasture would be lost through the herd law. In his opinion this would be a great damage to the farmer of moderate means.

> As it is, he can invest every spare dollar in young stock, turn them out on the unbounded pastures of Iowa, and by a few dollars thus expended, he would receive a greater return with less labor than from all the rest of his farm. But deprive him of this privilege by your herd laws, and compel him to herd his cattle through thick and thin, at a cost of $2.00 per head, and you have taken away one of the greatest inducements to men of small capital, in the East, to emigrate to Iowa.

The above was not an idle claim. The coming of the fence was a symptom of the passing of a form of agriculture in which it had been to the advantage of the farmers to make use of such a large area that they could not profitably fence it. Here was an actual struggle between an extensive and an intensive form of agriculture. Fences were a needless expense and a nuisance under the earlier system. They were a necessity in the later one. As soon as all the land was taken up, and there were enough people per square mile so that they must till the land if they were all to live on its produce, there was no further objection to fencing. The interests of all then required that livestock be restrained. But, even as late as 1871 it was still being said in eastern Iowa that "it is a part of our peculiar civilization which demands that stock shall be free commoners, and any law to the contrary will work an injury instead of a blessing."[81]

As the State filled up with settlers, the advantage of fencing or herding became greater, and arguments in its

[81] See the report from Adair County in the *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1871, p. 355.

favor became more frequent. In 1870 a law was passed by the State legislature making owners of live stock running at large liable for damage done by such stock. It was provided that the owner of any cultivated land in the State, or the person actually in charge of it, should have a lien on any wandering stock trespassing on it. Means were provided by which damages could be recovered from the owner of the livestock. But the enforcement of the law was left to local option. The board of supervisors of each county was given authority to determine each year whether the county should vote on the adoption of the law.[82] In 1872 it was provided that a township might vote on the adoption of the law, on the presentation to the township trustees, of a petition signed by one-third of the legal voters of the township.[83] In 1874 the local option features were extended, so that on petition by a fourth of the voters of a county, or on their own initiative, the county supervisors might submit to a vote the question of restraining stock from running at large, or of restraining them between sunset and sunrise, or of restraining them between dates to be named in the ballot.[84]

There was, of course, a great deal of opposition to this law by the persons who had been using the open prairies for grazing. On the other hand, there was also opposition to the local option feature.[85] This came from persons who

[82] *Laws of Iowa*, 1870, Ch. 26.

[83] *Laws of Iowa*, 1872, Ch. 18.

[84] *Laws of Iowa*, 1874, Ch. 70.

[85] The result of the local option provision of the law of 1870 "was that in many cases adjoining counties voted in opposite directions upon it, and the border wars which have ensued, make matters worse than before. We have need of a general statute or nothing, and it is the duty of our representatives to put this matter at rest this winter. Petitions for such a law will not be wanting; the whole bent and tendency of civilization is in its favor, and there is nothing opposed to it but the vestiges of a very early condition of things, which lingers about the timber, and looks with ill concealed dislike upon those

were completely convinced of the utility of the law and whose interests lay in the direction of tillage rather than grazing. On the whole, it is probable that the local option feature was one of the most valuable parts of the law. In most of the State, settlement was still quite thin and it was profitable to permit the cattle to run at large or else to herd them. To compel the owner of a few head of cattle in such sections to fence them in would have meant an unnecessary expense. Voting on the fence law continued throughout the seventies. Its adoption seems to have moved westward about as fast as the intensity of settlement made it economical.

John A. Hopkins, Jr.

Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts
Ames Iowa

who are toiling to make homes on the prairie, and by making them are 'spiling the range'.

"What more direct argument in favor of the herd law, in an economic point of view, personal to every farmer in the Northwest, are the columns of *The Homestead* filled as they are every week with estray notices of cattle and horses which have been turned into space in the fashion common here, and who have wandered aimlessly off, to be recovered only at an expense, as often as any way, equal to their value."— Article signed "R" in *The Iowa Homestead,* January 26, 1872.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Four Wisconsin Counties: Prairie and Forest. By Joseph Schafer. Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1927. Pp. 429. Maps and charts. This volume is the second in the General Studies series of the *Wisconsin Domesday Book* of which Schafer's *History of Agriculture in Wisconsin* was the first. The present volume traces the history of Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, and Ozaukee counties, a part of Wisconsin along Lake Michigan. Two of these counties were originally heavily wooded and two were of the prairie type — factors which the author found had a persistent influence upon the history of the region. Four chapters are employed by the author to trace the story of this area from the days of Indian occupation to the beginnings of settlement by Americans. Other chapters deal with the coming of foreigners, the selection of farm land, agricultural history, political history, social history, educational progress, population changes, and recent immigration. An Appendix occupies one-fourth or more of the volume, but its inordinate length is justified by the valuable statistical data contained therein. A population chart for each town from 1850-1920, a soil map and a map showing the progress of settlement for each town, and other tabular data reveal much detailed information about the region. The author has told the story of this section of Wisconsin in a manner that catches and holds the attention of the reader. The present volume is a worthy addition to the *Domesday Book.*

Fort Wayne, Gateway of the West 1802–1813. Edited by Bert J. Griswold. Indianapolis: Historical Bureau of the Indiana Library and Historical Department. 1927. Pp. 690. Plates. This publication, which is Volume XV of the *Indiana Historical Collections,* contains the Orderly Books of the garrison at Fort Wayne, 1802–1813, and the Account Book of John Johnston, Indian agent at that post. The Orderly Books provide a valuable picture of conditions at a frontier fort during the early years of the nine-

teenth century. The little garrison found life hard and dull. Quarreling, drunkenness, and insubordination among the men added to the trials of those in command. Court martial sessions were frequent, and punishments were often severe. Among the interesting characters stationed at Fort Wayne during this period were such men as Major Zebulon M. Pike, Captain John Whipple, Captain Nathan Heald, Captain James Rhea, and Captain Hugh Moore. When the War of 1812 broke out and Fort Wayne was besieged by hundreds of Indians the little garrison held out until the approach of General William Henry Harrison compelled the red men to abandon the siege. John Johnston, Indian agent at Fort Wayne from 1802 to 1811, handled thousands of dollars worth of supplies for the garrison, and gifts and annuities for the Indians. From the fort he sent to markets in the east large quantities of peltries and furs purchased from the Indians. His Account Book reveals clearly economic conditions of the time in that section of the Indian country.

Traditions of the Iowa Indians, by Alanson Skinner, is a leading article in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* for October-December, 1925, published in November, 1927. This is an important collection of Iowa folk-tales.

Volume one of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for the year 1922 has recently been distributed from the press of the Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C.

The Constitutional Status and Government of Alaska, by George Washington Spicer, has recently been printed as number four of Series XLV of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.*

Allen C. Clark has added a small volume to the ever increasing material on Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Clark's book has the title *Abraham Lincoln: The Merciful President* with a second sub-title, *The Pardon of the Sleeping Sentinel.*

The Mound Builders: Whence and When, by Vernon C. Allison, is an article in the *American Anthropologist* for October-December,

1927, which is of particular interest to residents of the Mississippi Valley.

Contributions to Fox Ethnology, by Truman Michelson, has been issued by the Smithsonian Institution as bulletin eighty-five of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This is a valuable study of the ceremonial runners of the Fox Indians and of Sauk and Fox sacred pacts.

Some Reflections on the Sociological Character of Political Parties, by Roberto Michels; *Political Science at the Crossroads*, by Ellen Deborah Ellis; and *The Evolution of the League of Nations*, by William E. Rappard, are the three major articles in *The American Political Science Review* for November, 1927.

The Founding of the Augustana Synod, 1850–1860, by George M. Stephenson, sets forth "compelling events and personalities that shaped the destiny of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America". The book is an attractive volume of one hundred and sixty pages issued by the Augustana Book Concern of Rock Island.

The Journal of Negro History for October, 1927, contains the following papers and articles: *Racial Conflict in Africa*, by W. D. Hambly; *Thomas Hughes and Slavery*, by Joseph H. Park; *The Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina, 1868–1871*, by Francis B. Simkins; and *Cudjo's Own Story of the Last African Slaver*, by Zora Neale Hurston.

The Buffalo Historical Society has issued an interesting and attractive volume on *The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier*, by Louis L. Babcock. This is volume XXIX of the Buffalo Historical Society Publications. Frank H. Severance, editor of the series, contributes two supplementary chapters to the volume.

Among the contributions to *The American Historical Review* for October, 1927, appear the following articles and papers: *Productivity of Doctors of Philosophy in History*, by Marcus W. Jernegan; *Lord George Germain in Office*, by George H. Guttridge; *American Interest in the Greek Cause, 1821–1827*, by Edward M. Earle; and *Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy*, by Thomas P. Abernethy.

Americana for October, 1927, contains among others the following papers and articles: *John Quincy Adams — "The Old Man Eloquent"*, by Sherman J. Kline; *The Modoc War*, by Maurice FitzGerald; *The Old Bethel Communistic Colony*, by Harold Dailey; *Old Normandy in New Hampshire*, by Oscar F. Moreau; *Scotch-Irish and the History of Londonderry*, by Hobart Pillsbury; and *New Hampshire — Historic and Scenic — By Motor*, by Rae S. Hunt.

The Norwegian-American Historical Association has recently issued Volume II of the *Studies and Records*. The following articles comprise the contents of this volume: *Norwegian Emigrant Songs*, translated and edited by Martin B. Ruud; *Four Immigrant Shiploads of 1836 and 1837*, by Henry J. Cadbury; *Immigration as Viewed by a Norwegian-American Farmer in 1869*, translated and edited by Jacob Hodnefield; *The Norwegian Pioneer in the Field of American Scholarship*, by Laurence M. Larson; *Norwegian Language and Literature in American Universities*, by George T. Flom; and *Norwegian-American Church History*, by George M. Stephenson.

Slaveholding in North Carolina: An Economic View, by Rosser Howard Taylor, has been published in Volume XVIII of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications* by the Department of History and Gevornment of the University of North Carolina. In number two of Volume XIX of this series appear *Studies in Hispanic-American History*, edited by William Whatley Pierson, Jr. These *Studies* consist of *Some Notes on the Transfer by Spain of Plants and Animals to its Colonies Overseas*, by James A. Robertson; *The European Powers and the Spanish-American War*, by J. Fred Rippy; *The Monroe Doctrine and the Panamá Congress*, by Guion Griffis Johnson; and *The Establishment and Early Functioning of the Intendencia of Cuba*, by William Whatley Pierson, Jr.

Volume four of the *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, edited by George N. Fuller, has been published by The Michigan Historical Commission. This volume closes the series, bringing the *Messages* down to the close of the legislative session of 1927. Included in this final volume are the State papers of the following

Governors of Michigan: Hazen S. Pingree, Aaron T. Bliss, Fred M. Warner, Chase S. Osborn, Woodbridge N. Ferris, Albert E. Sleeper, Alexander J. Groesbeck, and Fred W. Green.

The Capture of Old Vincennes, with the sub-title *The Original Narratives of George Rogers Clark and of His Opponent, Governor Henry Hamilton*, edited with an Introduction and Notes by Milo M. Quaife, has been brought out by the Bobbs-Merrill Company at Indianapolis. Several years ago Dr. Quaife edited this material for publication in *The Lakeside Classics Series*. A reprinting of it has been made because of the widespread interest in the approaching George Rogers Clark sesquicentennial celebration at Vincennes.

American Agricultural Villages, by Edmund deS. Brunner, Gwendolyn S. Hughes, and Marjorie Patten, has been issued by the Institute of Social and Religious Research from the press of George H. Doran Company. The study is based upon data secured from one hundred and forty villages throughout the United States — a village in this instance being a community whose population ranges between 250 and 2500. The opening chapters deal with the interrelationship of village and country, while the later chapters present in detail data about the economic, social, and religious life of towns and villages. Iowa communities included in the study are: Alta, Battle Creek, Buffalo Center, Bussey, Corning, Grundy Center, La Porte City, Marathon, Moville, Strawberry Point, and Winfield.

WESTERN AMERICANA

El Palacio for October 29, 1927, contains an interesting article on *Indian Music of the Southwest*.

A continuation of the historical sketch of a pioneer family in northern Wisconsin by Clara C. Lenroot under the title, *Long, Long Ago*, appears in *The Wisconsin Magazine* for October, 1927.

The *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library* for July, 1927, contains two interesting Confederate items, the *Diary of Captain H. W. Wingfield* and *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, by Judge E. C. Moncure.

A continuation of the *Introduction and Progress of Methodism in Southeastern Indiana*, by Allen Wiley; and a *Civil War Diary*, by Columbus C. Benson, are the articles in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for September, 1927.

The Wisconsin Archeologist for September, 1927, contains the following articles and papers: *An Airplane Photograph of an Indian Effigy Mound*, by Charles E. Brown; *Lake Monona Wild Life Sanctuary Association Field Meeting*, by Theodore T. Brown; and *Wisconsin Indians in Farming*, by J. F. Wojta.

The Missouri Historical Review for October, 1927, contains the following papers and articles: *Joseph H. Burrows*, by Rollin J. Britton; *Farming as It Used to Be, and as It Is in Missouri*, by Samuel M. Jordan; *Independence, Missouri, A Century Old*, by W. L. Webb; and *The Relief Movement in Missouri, 1820–1822*, by W. J. Hamilton.

An extra number of the *Indiana History Bulletin* for August, 1927, contains an *Archaeological and Historical Survey of Parke County*, by George Branson. The regular number for October, 1927, describes in detail a proposed pilgrimage to the birthplace of George Rogers Clark, near Charlottesville, Virginia, on November 19, 1927.

The *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for September, 1927, contains an interesting article by M. M. Quaife under the title *Detroit Biographies: Daniel de Joncaire de Chabert*. In the number for November, 1927, M. M. Quaife continues his series on *Detroit Battles* with a critical account of the Battle of the Blue Licks.

Manuel Lisa, by Charles A. Gianini; a continuation of *The Gallegos Relation*, by Geo. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey; *The First Irrigation Lawsuit*, by Edward D. Tittman; *The Death of Jacques D'Eglise*, by Lansing B. Bloom; and *Santa Fe in the '70s*, by John P. Clum, are the contributions to *The New Mexico Historical Review* for October, 1927.

Among the contributions to *The Register of the Kentucky State*

Historical Society for September, 1927, appear the following papers and articles: *The Confederate Medal of Honour and the Kentuckians Who Won It*, by Major Edgar Erskine Hume; *Early Floyd County Marriage Records (1803–1860)*, by Willard Rouse Jillson; and a continuation of *The Life and Times of Robert B. McAfee and his Family Connections.*

An Indian Campaign and Buffalo Hunting with "Buffalo Bill", by Luke Cahill; *Supplies and Market Prices in Pioneer Denver*, by LeRoy R. Hafen; *Some Characteristics of Jim Baker*, by Chauncey Thomas; *Relations with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in Colorado to 1861*, by Lillian B. Shields; and *Some Early Books on the West*, by Edward W. Milligan, are contributions in the August, 1927, number of *The Colorado Magazine.*

Steptoe Butte and Steptoe Battle-field, by T. C. Elliott; *My Arrival in Washington in 1852*, by Margaret Windsor Iman; *Early Days at the Cascades*, by George Iman; *Familiar Letter about Pioneers*, by Edward Huggins; *The Whatcom Trails to the Fraser River Mines in 1858*, by R. L. Reid; and *In A Prairie Schooner, 1878*, by J. Orin Oliphant, are the papers and articles in *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for October, 1927.

The Oregon Historical Quarterly for September, 1927, contains the following articles: *Gleanings from the Story of our Oregon Pioneers*, by George M. Brown; and a continuation of *Oregon Geographic Names*, by Lewis A. McArthur. Under the title *Documents* appear *Dr. Marcus Whitman — Journal and Report of His Tour of Exploration with Rev. Samuel Parker in 1835 Beyond the Rocky Mountains* with an introduction and annotations by F. G. Young; and the *Journal of the Ship Ruby*, by T. C. Elliott.

A Review of the Efforts to Develop Water Power at the Falls of the Ohio, by Charles K. Needham; *Origin of the Names Beargrass Creek, The Point, and Thruston Square*, by Otto A. Rothert; *Local Historical Activities in Kentucky*, by Willard Rouse Jillson; and *Battle of Upper Blue Licks*, by R. S. Cotterill, are the articles in the October, 1927, number of *The History Quarterly*, published by the Filson Club and the University of Louisville.

Honorable David Rowland Francis, by Harry B. Hawes; *Genealogical Notes, Relating to the Ancestry of David Rowland Francis and Harry B. Hawes*, by Breckinridge Jones; *The Village Under the Hill, A Sketch of Early St. Louis*, by Edward Villere Papin; *James Callaway in the War of 1812, Letters, Diary and Rosters*, by Edgar Bruce Wesley; and *The Callaway Family, From Original Records*, by Sarah Mercer Carpenter,are the articles, addresses, and documents in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections* for October, 1927.

The *Chronicles of Oklahoma* for September, 1927, contains the following papers and articles: *Single Versus Double Statehood*, by Thomas H. Doyle; *Southwest's History Written in Oklahoma's Boundary Story*, by M. L. Wardell; *A Version of a Famous Battle*, by F. M. Lockard; *A Day with Colonel W. F. Cloud*, by Wiley Britton; *"Initial Point" in Oklahoma*, by Alvin Rucker; and the *Report of Captain John Stuart on the Construction of the Road from Fort Smith to Horse Prairie on Red River*, by Carolyn Thomas Foreman.

Ezra Meeker — Ohio's Illustrious Pioneer, and the *Trial of William Bebb*, both by C. B. Galbreath; *Thomas Jefferson and the Removal of Governor St. Clair*, by Randolph Chandler Downes; *Logan, Tecumseh, the Shawnee Indians*, by Warren K. Moorehead; *The Miami Canal*, by John George, Jr.; *The Roush Family in America*, by L. L. Roush; and *Kansas' Dead in France*, by Whither C. Mitchell, are the papers in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for January, 1927.

Samuel Finley Breese Morse and the Anti-Catholic Political Movements in the United States (1791–1872), by Francis John Connors; a continuation of *Illinois — The Cradle of Christianity and Civilization in Mid-America*, by Joseph J. Thompson; *Colonel Francis Vigo and George Rogers Clark*, by Cecil H. Chamberlain; and *Letters of Bishop Benedict Joseph Fenwick of Boston to Bishop Rosati of St. Louis*, by John Rothensteiner, are the papers and articles in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for October, 1927.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History for September, 1927, contains the following articles and papers: *The Chicago Fire: An Experience*, by William James Leonard; *History of Company I, Fourteenth Wisconsin Infantry, from October 15, 1861, to October 9, 1865*, by Edgar P. Houghton; *Some Experiences of a Soldier Railroader*, by Albert O. Barton; *The Burning of the Sultana*, by William B. Floyd; and a continuation of *Historic Spots in Wisconsin*, by W. A. Titus. Under the title *Documents* appears *Letters of the Reverend Adelbert Inama, O. Praem.*

Bridges Across the Atlantic, by Mrs. Cornelia Steketee Hulst; *Calvin College, Grand Rapids: 1894–1927*, by Dean Albert J. Rooks; *Dr. Tappan, First President of the University of Michigan*, by Charles M. Perry; *Jesuit Influence in the Development of Michigan*, by Catherine Frances Babbitt; *Old Furniture in the Ford Collections at Dearborn*, by Henry A. Haigh; *Biography and Romance in Detroit's Street Names*, by Geo. B. Catlin; and a continuation of the *History of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs*, by Irma T. Jones, are the papers and articles in the *Michigan History Magazine* for October, 1927.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for April, 1927, contains the following articles and papers: *The Fatal First of January, 1841*, by Mary Leighton Miles; *The Burning of Sauk-E-Nuk*, by J. E. Cummings; *The Genesis of Old Vermilion*, by Clint Clay Tilton; *"Old Trading Post", First House of the White Man in Lee County*, by L. B. Neighbour; *History of the First Congregational Church, Princeton, Illinois, 1831–1924*, by Mrs. Ella W. Harrison; *History of the First Congregational Church of Geneseo*, by Mrs. Ella Hume Taylor; *Wheaton Seventy Years Ago*, by Olin J. Gary; *Springfield Home for the Friendless*, by Mary E. Humphrey; and the *Will of Shadrach Bond, First Governor of Illinois under Statehood. Josiah Lamborn, Attorney General of Illinois, 1840–1843*, by Cornelius J. Doyle; *Ulysses S. Grant*, by Richard Yates; *The Enduring Lincoln*, by William E. Barton; *The New Black Hawk State Park*, by John H. Hauberg; and *Rock River and Its Crossings*, by Edward E. Wingert, are some of the addresses and articles in the number for July, 1927.

A Louisiana Indigo Plantation on Bayou Teche, 1773, by Henry P. Dart; *Agreement Between Louis Cezard (Cesaire) Le Breton and Jean Baptiste Gondeau as Overseer on His Plantation*, translated by Heloise H. Cruzat; *Contract to Build a Ship in New Orleans*, translated by Laura L. Porteous; and *The Elections of 1860 in Louisiana*, by Mary Lilla McLure, are articles and papers in the October, 1926, number of *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*. The number for January, 1927, contains *Documents Concerning Bienville's Lands in Louisiana, 1719–1737*, by Heloise H. Cruzat; *The First Great River Captain*, arranged and edited by J. Fair Hardin; *Introduction of Jean Francois Pasquier as Councillor-Assessor in the Supreme Council of Louisiana, 1737*, by Henry P. Dart; *The Notarial System of Louisiana*, by Edgar Grima; *Ordinance of 1717 Governing Notaries in Louisiana During French Colonial Period*, translated by Wm. K. Dart; *Following the Spanish Trail Across the "Neutral Territory" in Louisiana*, by Leon Sugar, a continuation of the *Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana*, by Heloise H. Cruzat, and another installment of an *Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana*, by Laura L. Porteous. In the number for April, 1927, appear the following papers and documents: *Procedure for Sale of an American Vessel in New Orleans, 1803*, translated by Laura L. Porteous; *Henry Miller Shreve: A Biography*, by Caroline S. Pfaff; *Major John B. Prados, a Confederate Officer*, by James A. Renshaw; and *Documents Concerning Bienville's Lands in Louisiana, 1719–1737*, by Heloise H. Cruzat.

IOWANA

A volume of poems under the title *One Hundred Humble Ballads of the Heart and Other Writings*, by S. Francis Hartley, has been published by The Hawkeye Publishing Co. at Waterloo.

Volume XXXV of the *Annals of the Grand Lodge of Iowa A. F. & A. M.* has recently come from the press. This book of some three hundred pages provides a careful survey of the progress of this lodge in Iowa during the past year.

The sketch of the career of William I. Atkinson, by Montaville Flowers, which appeared in the *Annals of Iowa* for October, has been printed in attractive booklet form by the friends of Mr. Atkinson as a tribute to his memory. The foreword was written by Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa.

In commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of their meat packing industry, John Morrell & Company of Ottumwa issued an attractive booklet under the title *The Fruits of 100 Years: 1827–1927.* The story of Morrell's first century forms an interesting narrative of the beginnings of the business in England and Ireland and the subsequent removal to the United States.

Johnson Brigham has added another volume to the annals of Iowa history and literature with his novel, *The Sinclairs of Old Fort Des Moines.* The book was printed by The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids and distributed by the Hertzberg Bindery of Des Moines. The story deals with events in the Des Moines Valley between 1843 and 1847, with interest centering about the military post at the Raccoon Forks.

The *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1927, contains the following papers and articles: *William I. Atkinson — An Appreciation,* by Montaville Flowers; *The Welsh in American History,* reprinted from an early Iowa newspaper, *Who Owns the Lakes, Anyway?,* by Edgar R. Harlan, an account of the *Public Archives Division* of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department, by C. C. Stiles, and a biographical sketch, *James Edgar Snowden,* by Truman O. Douglass.

The Flickinger Family History, by Robert Elliot Flickinger of Rockwell City, Iowa, is a history of all the Flickinger families in the United States. In addition to a dozen later arrivals, it contains full accounts of the descendants of the following colonial settlers: Andreas, Joseph, Johannes, Peter, and Ulrich Flickinger; also of Zachariah Rice, Philip Saylor, Johannes Hench, Valentine Ritter, and other related families in eastern Pennsylvania.

Wapsipinicon Tales, a new book by Jay G. Sigmund, consists of sketches of Iowa characters in the region which the author has utilized both for prose and verse. Some of these sketches first appeared in *The Midland*, *The Tanager*, *The Cedar Rapids Republican*, *The Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, and *The Davenport Times*. They bring to the reader vivid glimpses of workaday people in the "Wapsie" valley. Charles J. Finger wrote the *Introduction*; and The Prairie Publishing Company printed the volume.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Aumann, F. R.,
Mahaska (The Palimpsest, November, 1927).
Poweshiek (The Palimpsest, September, 1927).

Austin, Anne,
Jackson Street. New York: Greenberg. 1927.

Benson, Elizabeth,
The Younger Generation. New York: Greenberg. 1927.

Bliss, Marion Louise,
October (Poetry, October, 1927).
September (Harper's Bazaar, September, 1927).

Briggs, John Ely,
Implacable Foes (The Palimpsest, September, 1927).

Brigham, Johnson,
The Sinclairs of Old Fort Des Moines. Des Moines: Hertzberg Bindery. 1927.

Bush, Stephen H., (Editor)
Sixteenth Century French Anthology. New York: D. C. Heath and Company. 1927.

Butler, Ellis Parker,
Pups and Pies. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company. 1927.

Carpenter, M. F.,
Courses in English for Junior High Schools (University of

Iowa Extension Bulletin, College of Education Series, No. 22). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1926.

Courses in English for Senior High Schools (University of Iowa Extension Bulletin, College of Education Series, No. 23). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1926.

Clarke, Charles F.,
Nature's Way. Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1927.

Crowell, Grace Noll,
Red Haws (poem) (Christian Science Monitor, September 27, 1927).

Dennis, William Jefferson,
Documentary History of the Tacna-Arica Dispute (University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. VIII, No. 3). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1927.

Donovan, Mrs. W. H.,
The Woman (Catholic World, September, 1927).

Duncan, Thomas W.,
Lewis Worthington Smith: the Man and His Work (Midland Schools, November, 1927).

Eriksson, Erik McKinley,
Baseball Beginnings (The Palimpsest, October, 1927).

Flickinger, Robert E.,
The Flickinger Family History. Des Moines: Success Composition and Printing Co. 1927.

Frederick, John Towner,
Stockade (Wallaces' Farmer, December 2, 1927).

Gard, Wayne,
Book Reviewing. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1927.

Griffith, Helen Sherman,
Louie Maude and the Mary Ann. Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Company. 1927.

Hall, James Norman,
On the Island of Happy Indolence (Travel, July, 1927).

Hammill, John,
Why Iowa is Thriving (Rock Island Magazine, November. 1927).

Hartley, S. Francis,
One Hundred Humble Ballads of the Heart and Other Writings. Waterloo: The Hawkeye Publishing Co. 1927.

Hearst, James,
Plowman (poem) (Midland, August, 1927).

Holbrook, Weare,
Scarlet Synonyms (poem) (College Humor, November, 1927).
The Love-Life of Petterbridge Otway (College Humor, October. 1927).

Hoover, Herbert Clark,
A Remedy for Disappearing Game Fishes. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1927.

Howe, Marie Jenney,
George Sand: The Search for Love. New York: John Day Company. 1927.

Kantor, MacKinlay,
O Red Men Riding (College Humor, November, 1927).

Kluckhohn, Clyde,
To the Foot of the Rainbow. New York: Century Company. 1927.

Lichty, Carroll,
Billy of the Purple Sage (Argosy All-Story, October 15, 1927).

Lingelbach, Annette M.,
The Uninterrupted Practice-Hour (Etude, October, 1927).

McCurry, Blayne,
Those Naughty Tabloids (Tanager, November, 1927).

McElroy, Margaret, (Joint author)
The Squirrel Tree. New York: American Book Company. 1927.

Meigs, Cornelia,
As the Crow Flies. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1927.

Patrick, George T. W.,
The Chaos Called College (Forum, November, 1927).

Reilly, J. F.,
Interpolation with Modified Coefficients (The Record, June, 1927).

Rinard, Norman,
Poesy Portraits (Motion Picture Magazine, November, 1927).

Schaffter, Dorothy, (Joint author)
The Legislation of the Forty-second General Assembly (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, October, 1927).

Seagrave, Sadie,
Lament of a Falling Star (Prisms, July, 1927).

Seashore, Carl E.,
Learning and Living in College (University of Iowa Studies on Aims and Progress of Research, Vol. II, No. 1). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1927.

Sigmund, Jay G.,
Before the Funeral (Tanager, November, 1927).
First Day of Widowhood (Bozart, December, 1927).

Smith, Mrs. Lewis Worthington,
Transplanting a House and Building a Garden (Better Homes and Gardens, December, 1927).

Spaulding, E. Leslie,
Sonnet of a Shoemaker (poem) (Stratford Journal, November, 1927).

Stefansson, Vilhjalmur,
The Standardization of Error. New York: W. W. Norton. 1927.

Stokely, Edith Keeley,
Pantaloon. New York: George H. Doran Company. 1927.

Suckow, Ruth,

A German Grandfather (The American Mercury, November, 1927).

Elsie Dinsmore: A Study in Perfection, or How Fundamentalism Came to Dixie (Bookman, October, 1927).

Good Pals (The American Mercury, October, 1927).

The Little Girl From Town (Harper's Magazine, August, 1927).

Sundermeyer, Clarence,

World-Gate (The Midland, November, 1927).

Swisher, J. A., (Joint author)

The Legislation of the Forty-second General Assembly (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, October, 1927).

Leonard Fletcher Parker. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1927.

Tallman, Russell Warrick,

A Critical Analysis of Student Persistence at the State University of Iowa (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. IV, No. 1). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1927.

Trachsel, Herman H.,

Due Process of Marriage (The Palimpsest, October, 1927).

Tull, Jewell Bothwell,

Warning (Husk, October, 1927).

Walton, Mrs. Gertrude,

Buttonfaces Lose Their Spectacles (John Martin's Book, May, 1927).

Weitz, Alice C.,

Edwin Ford Piper (Midland Schools, October, 1927).

Wickard, Beulah Jo,

Kisses (Iowa Literary Magazine, November, 1927).

Love (Iowa Literary Magazine, November, 1927).

To Pan (Iowa Literary Magazine, November, 1927).

Wilson, Ben Hur,
The Amana Meteor (The Palimpsest, November, 1927).

Wilson, Louis L.,
Country Mail Boxes (poem) (Husk, November, 1927).

Young, Charles Edmund, (Editor)
Sixteenth Century French Anthology. New York: D. C. Heath & Co. 1927.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

Pioneer judges and lawyers of Story County, reprinted from the *Cambridge Leader* in the *Story City Herald,* July 21, 1927.

Iowa pioneering in the seventies, in the *Lake View Resort,* July 21, 1927.

Early days in central Iowa, by Emily Grubb, in the *Dallas County News,* July 27, 1927.

Life on a farm in early Iowa as related by S. S. Kelly, in the *Clinton Herald,* July 27, 1927.

Pioneer days at Viola, by H. S. Jones, in the *Audubon Advocate-Republican,* July 28, 1927.

Hardships endured by pioneer trappers in Lyon County, in the *George News,* July 28, 1927.

Business conditions at Hopkinton in the fifties, as revealed by an old ledger, in the *Hopkinton Leader,* July 28, 1927.

Some early history of Fremont Township, Butler County, in the *Clarksville Star,* July 28, 1927.

Early events in the history of Ames recalled by C. E. Taylor, in the *Ames Tribune,* August 3, 1927.

How Sheldon looked forty-eight years ago, in the *Sheldon Mail,* August 3, 1927.

A horse thief association in 1883, in the *Avoca Journal,* August 4, 1927.

Early settlements in Lyon County, in the *George News,* August 4, 11, 1927.

A letter written during the Civil War, in the *Bedford Free Press,* August 4, 1927.

Early history of Fort Dodge, by T. A. Carpenter, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger,* August 6, 1927.

Primitive Indian tools, by Leonard Orth, in the *Sioux City Journal,* August 7, 1927.

Sketch of the career of William F. Graham, a physician in Atlantic for forty-six years, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph,* August 9, 1927.

Early history of Greene, by J. M. Ramsey, in the *Greene Recorder,* August 10, 1927.

The migration of a band of Friends from Norway to Marshall County, in the *West Branch Times,* August 11, 1927.

Sketch of the career of S. W. Moorhead, veteran editor and physician of Keokuk, in the *Keokuk Gate City,* August 11, 1927.

Tomb of early man unearthed near Lockridge, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* the *Mt. Pleasant News,* August 17, 1927, and the *Des Moines Register,* August 21, 1927.

The old stone church near Monona, in the *Monona Leader,* August 18, 1927, and the *Waukon Republican,* August 24, 1927.

Historical facts of Story County, Iowa, in the *Cambridge Leader,* August 18, 23, September 8, 15, 22, October 6, 13, 20, 1927.

Early days at Montezuma, by J. H. Platt, in the *Montezuma Republican,* August 18, 1927.

Early history of Fremont County, in the *Hamburg Republican,* August 18, 1927.

Red Oak in 1882, in the *Grinnell Herald,* August 19, 1927.

Memoirs of Capt. Sam R. Van Sant, in the *Burlington Post,* August 20, September 3, 17, October 8, November 19, 1927.

Sketch of the career of Fred Gilbert of Spirit Lake, by A. B. Funk, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, August 18, 1927, and the *Estherville Enterprise*, August 24, 1927.

Humboldt College and its founder, in the *Des Moines Register*, August 21, 1927.

Opening an Indian Mound near Merrimac, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, August 24, 1927.

Early events in Palo Alto County as revealed by John J. Mahan, in the *Emmetsburg Democrat*, August 24, 1927, and the *Graettinger Times*, September 1, 1927.

The old guard, stories and reminiscences of Civil War days, in the *Dallas County News*, August 24, 1927.

Pioneer experiences of the Stanley family, by J. H. Friend, in the *Grinnell Register*, August 25, 1927.

Early days in Monroe, in the *Monroe Mirror*, August 25, 1927.

Heroism of Iowa cavalrymen at the battle of White Stone Hill, by Mrs. F. W. Knight, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, August 27, 1927.

History of navigation on the Des Moines River, by Jasper Blines, in the *Burlington Post*, August 27, September 10, October 15, 1927.

Sketch of the career of Sarah Brewer-Bonebright, ninety year old resident of Webster City, in the *Webster City Journal*, August 27, 1927.

Early history of Oquawka, or Yellow Banks, by Judge James N. Gordon, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, August 28, 1927.

Sketch of the career of Dr. J. H. Burlingame, a physician in Cherokee County for sixty years, by Elizabeth McNeil, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 28, 1927.

Sketch of the career of Dr. V. S. Wilcox, a physician at Malcom for fifty-three years, in the *Grinnell Herald*, August 30, 1927, and the *Brooklyn Chronicle*, September 1, 1927.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The mid-year meeting of the Indiana Historical Society was held at Vevay on October 15, 1927. A pilgrimage by automobile from Indianapolis to Vevay by way of Columbus and Madison preceded the meeting, and the return to Indianapolis was made by way of Rising Sun, Aurora, Lawrenceburg, Harrison, Brookville, and Connersville.

The seventy-fifth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in the Historical Library Building at Madison, on October 20, 1927, for the purpose of electing curators. Following the meeting members and friends of the Society attended a subscription dinner and a program of speeches.

Museum workers and persons interested in private, school, and community museums in the Upper Mississippi Valley met in Minneapolis and St. Paul on November 18 and 19 for the semi-annual session of the Mid-west Museums Conference. Discussions of problems and developments in connection with museum work occupied the attention of delegates and visitors.

The Missouri Historical Society resumes publication of the *Missouri Historical Society Collections* with number one of Volume V issued in October, 1927. In the future the magazine will be issued regularly at least three times a year. In addition to historical monographs each number will contain diaries, letters, or documents from the Society's rich manuscript collection.

The forty-second annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at Washington, D. C., on December 28-30, 1927. Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, presided over a section devoted to a consideration of the subject "Governmental Support of Historical Endeavor". At a session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association papers were read giving "A Revaluation of the Period Before the Civil War".

The twenty-first annual convention of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held in Des Moines this spring, probably the last week in April. Professor John D. Hicks of the University of Nebraska is chairman of the program committee. Professor O. B. Clark of Drake University and Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, are chairman and secretary respectively of the local committee on arrangements. Bruce E. Mahan of the State Historical Society of Iowa is a member of the program committee.

A pilgrimage to the birthplace of George Rogers Clark near Charlottesville, Virginia, took place on November 19th, 1927, the one hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of his birth. Leaving Washington, D. C. on November 17, members of the party went to Richmond where several hours were spent in sight seeing. On the next day the pilgrimage included a trip to Williamsburg where Clark received his commission from Patrick Henry, also a trip to Jamestown and Yorktown. Saturday, November 19th, was devoted to a visit to Monticello and to Clark's birthplace nearby for a formal observance of the anniversary.

IOWA

Under the auspices of the Milton Brotherhood an historical pageant representing the life of Indians and early settlers in Van Buren County was presented on September 13, 1927, four miles south of Milton.

On October 23, 1927, the Pioneer Rock Church near Garnavillo was formally opened with appropriate ceremonies. This church built in 1858 has been unused for many years but has been reopened by farmer families in the vicinity as a wayside shrine.

The Mary Marion Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a large boulder in the courthouse square at Knoxville, September 28, 1927, marking the Red Rock line famous in Iowa history as the place where settlers lined up for the rush for homestead claims when the region to the west was opened for settlement, October 11, 1845. The principal address on this occasion was delivered by John Hammill, Governor of Iowa.

The John See Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a tablet in the Burge cemetery near New London in memory of Mrs. Hannah See Prier on September 17, 1927. Mrs. A. D. Hayes, Regent of the local chapter of the D. A. R. presented the tablet and Mrs. Roy Codner accepted it for the Prier relatives. Mrs. Marie Ely Smith of Burlington, Mrs. W. H. Hamilton of Sigourney, and the Reverend C. L. Ellis gave brief addresses.

On October 12, 1927, the Waubonsie Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a bronze tablet marking the site of the first schoolhouse in Clarinda, built in 1854. Mrs. Harry Lyman presented the marker to Mrs. T. E. Klise, Regent of the Chapter, who in turn presented it to E. L. Weaver, Superintendent of the Clarinda Public Schools. Mrs. C. G. Saunders of Council Bluffs, State Regent of the D. A. R. was present at the dedication and gave an address.

On September 15, 1927, the Candle-Stick Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a large boulder and bronze tablet marking the site of the James B. Reeve log house in which the first election was held and Franklin County organized on August 5, 1855. Emily A. Reeve, Cora Shroyer, Orson G. Reeve, and Herman D. Reeve gave short talks relating the history of the event commemorated. Mrs. L. S. Dorchester of Clear Lake and Judge W. D. Evans gave the principal addresses at the ceremony.

The Hannah Lee Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a tablet marking the grave of Angelina Webb Morehouse on October 23, 1927. Mrs. Morehouse, who was the daughter of one Revolutionary War soldier and the granddaughter of another, lies buried in the Dunham Grove cemetery near Westgate in Fayette County. Mrs. Leora Loomis of West Union, Regent of Hannah Lee Chapter, presided and made the presentation remarks. John McSweeny of Victor accepted the tablet and read a biographical sketch of Mrs. Morehouse, his grandmother. Mrs. L. S. Dorchester of Clear Lake, chairman of the Historic Spots Committee of the D. A. R., gave the principal address on this occasion.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Ruth A. Gallaher, Library Research Associate of the State Historical Society, gave an address on "Citzenship and City Government" before the Rock Island Womens' Club at Rock Island on December 17, 1927.

The State Historical Society has a biography of Leonard Fletcher Parker by J. A. Swisher ready for distribution to members and to official depositories throughout the State. This is a new volume in the *Iowa Biographical Series.*

J. A. Swisher, Research Associate of the Society, in company with B. W. Maxwell and Roy E. Brown, graduate students in the State University, visited several cities in Iowa during November gathering data for the study in municipal government and administration in Iowa which is being sponsored by the State Historical Society.

Bruce E. Mahan, Associate Editor of the State Historical Society, gave an address on "Amana, the Community of True Inspiration" before the Rotary Club of Cedar Rapids on October 31, 1927. On November 2, 1927, Mr. Mahan addressed the Kiwanis Club of Newton on "Dramatic Episodes in Early Iowa History", and in the afternoon spoke before a joint assembly of the Newton Junior High and High School.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. Robert P. Adams, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. T. C. Holy, Columbus, Ohio; Dr. J. E. Kimball, West Liberty, Iowa; Mr. Geo. A. Nichols, Estherville, Iowa; Mr. Allen Walker Read, Columbia, Missouri; Mr. L. V. Candee, Clermont, Iowa; Mr. Fred M. Pownall, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. A. F. Bridger, Richland, Iowa; Mrs. Fred J. Figge, Ossian, Iowa; and Mr. T. J. Tormey, Grundy Center, Iowa. Mr. Leon O. Smith of Omaha, Nebraska, has been enrolled as a life member.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The twenty-second annual outing of the Hawk-Eye Natives was held at Crapo Park, Burlington, on September 14, 1927.

Teachers of Iowa met in Des Moines on November 3-5, 1927, for the seventy-third annual session of the Iowa State Teachers Association.

The annual reunion and picnic of old settlers in Madison County was held at Winterset on September 5, 1927. The address of the day was given by a former Madison County boy, J. E. Potter of Pittsburgh.

A large crowd participated in the golden jubilee of the Elm schoolhouse west of Cantril on August 11, 1927. Details of the celebration had been planned by E. F. Pittman, a former pupil of this school. Governor John Hammil and Curator E. R. Harlan of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa gave appropriate addresses.

Justice Charles W. Vermilion of the Iowa Supreme Court died in Des Moines on September 2, 1927. Justice Vermilion was a member of a pioneer Iowa family, long prominent in Appanoose County. He served as a judge of the District Court from 1902 until 1923 and as a justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa from 1927 until his death.

Frank Springer, formerly of Wapello, Iowa, but for many years a resident of New Mexico, died at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on September 29, 1927. A lawyer by profession, Mr. Springer was well known among scientists for his scholarly work on crinoids. He was also interested in history and archaeology. Through his generosity as a patron of the School of American Archaeology at Santa Fe many restorations of prehistoric art were made possible.

CONTRIBUTORS

Ben Hur Wilson, Estherville Junior College. Born at Elk River Junction, Clinton County, Iowa, on January 27, 1888. Graduate of German College, Mount Pleasant, Iowa, 1908. Received the B. S. degree from Iowa Wesleyan College in 1909, and the M. S. degree from Drake University in 1927. Acted as State chairman of the celebration commemorating the anniversary of the discovery of Iowa by Joliet and Marquette. Member of the Board of Trustees of Iowa Wesleyan College since 1920. Has contributed various articles to *The Palimpsest* and other periodicals.

John Abel Hopkins, Jr., Associate Professor of Agricultural Economics at Iowa State College, Ames. Born at Newark, Delaware, April 4, 1897. Received the B. S. degree from Delaware College in 1917, the M. A. degree from Harvard University in 1921, and the Ph. D. degree from Harvard University in 1924. Came to Iowa State College as Assistant Professor of Agricultural Economics in 1921.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

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INCORPORATED: 1867 AND 1892
LOCATED AT IOWA CITY IOWA

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Any person may become a member of THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA upon election by the Board of Curators and the payment of an entrance fee of $3.00.

Membership in this Society may be retained after the first year upon the payment of $3.00 annually.

Members of the Society shall be entitled to receive the quarterly and all other publications of the Society during the continuance of their membership.

Address all Communications to

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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS
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THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE DUTCH IMMIGRANTS FROM 1847 TO THE CIVIL WAR

The purpose of this paper is to sketch the political activities and affiliations of the Dutch immigrants during the decade before the Civil War. Attracted by the most extraordinary opportunities in the vast fertile lands west of the Alleghanies and the Great Lakes, great numbers of Netherlanders and other foreigners came to this region, eager to share in the possibilities of material gain. As compared with the Germans, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes, the influx of Hollanders was rather small and, had they not settled in a limited number of localities, their subsequent influence would probably be difficult to trace. Between 1832 and 1845 only 2765 arrived, while from 1846 to 1861 the number increased to 17,482.[1] The movement was entirely desultory at first, but by 1845 a specific purpose and plan in their activities enables one to trace the history of the movement with unusual accuracy and wealth of detail. Although few in number this group illustrates a phase of a great movement which scholars have in recent years come to recognize as having exerted a profound influence upon the social, economic, cultural, and political life of America.[2]

A purely statistical study of immigration, while valuable in some respects, is, on the whole, quite inadequate.[3] These immigrants were *Kulturtraeger*, members of an old and es-

[1] *Abstracts of the Immigration Commission. Reports of the Immigration Commission,* Vol. I, pp. 70–79.

[2] See, for example, Schlesinger's *The Influence of Immigration on American History* in *New Viewpoints in American History,* pp. 1–22.

[3] See, for example, Stephenson's *A History of American Immigration* (1820–1924) for a better point of view.

tablished society with a most complex cultural development. They were not mere flotsam and jetsam, passive, and devoid of ideas and capacity for achievement. The Netherlanders who came after 1846 were drawn from all parts of the Kingdom and must have presented an interesting medley of dialect and customs. Yet a remarkable unity of religious ideas existed. The immigrants were for the most part Protestants, except for the Catholic community founded in Wisconsin, drawn from the lower classes of the bourgeoisie and the farmers. In all the settlements outside of Scholte's colony in Pella the middle and upper bourgeoisie were conspicuously absent. The more cultured and refined types that one finds today in The Netherlands were conspicuously absent in almost all of these communities. In fact the Dutch communities in America never formed a miniature Netherlands.

A variety of reasons had brought the Dutch immigrants to the New World. Among these were the more material and immediate problems such as the potato blight, especially disastrous in 1846, and the poverty which was certainly due in some measure to the heavy taxation necessitated by the debts acquired during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods and aggravated by the Belgian revolt in 1830, and the long resistance by King William to the wishes of the greater powers.[4] But the essential motive was religious,

[4] Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan in 1846* in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. XI, pp. 642–674. See also Donkersloot's *Gedachte over Armoede, Hare Oorzaken en Voorbehoedingsmiddel* (Tiel, 1849); Heldring's *Noodkreet over de Belasting op het Gemaal en den hoogen Prijs van het Brood* (Amsterdam, 1864); Heldring's *De Nood der Armen in Betrekking tot den Arbeid, de Weelde en het Medelijden. Eenige Practische Blikken in den Toestand onzes Volks* (Amsterdam, 1845); Van der Veen's *Armoede. Aanwijzing van Middelen om te Geraken tot eene Algemeene Ontginning der woeste Gronden in Nederland ter Bestrijding der Armoede* (Leeuwarden, 1846); *Blik op de Oorzaken der Armoede in Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1847); *Belasting op de Levensmiddelen Bezwarend voor den Behoeftigen* (Amsterdam, 1846). These pamphlets are in the Royal Library at The Hague.

and this was to give the movement its unity. There was a strong current of seventeenth and eighteenth century pietistic feeling among the country folk and lower bourgeoisie belonging to the old Reformed Church. These people were wholly untouched by the rationalistic type of theology that had developed under the influence of the Enlightenment, and could find no comfort in the pastoral conceptions that were evolved under its influence. A recrudescence of Calvinistic dogmatics and *Weltanschauung* developed in the wake of the Romantic movement through the leadership of Guillaume Groen Prinsterer, William Bilderdijk, Isaac Da Costa, and others. A schism developed, of which a number of their more youthful followers became leaders. Two of them, A. C. Van Raalte and H. P. Scholte, were later to bring large groups to America.[5]

Calvinism of the older pietistic type, reinforced by the peculiar ideas of the *Reveil,* as the revival of the second and third decades of the century was called in The Netherlands, dominated the spiritual and mental life of the immigrants. Many of the peculiar social implications of Calvinistic dogmatics were bound to influence their whole life in the New World. The conception of natural law would make slavery repugnant to them; in fact it was precisely this institution which led Scholte and his followers to prefer Iowa to Texas. On the other hand this same conception would tend to deter them from espousing the cause of abolitionism which was tinged with some of Rousseau's idealism regarding the

[5] See Rullmann's *Een Nagel in de Heilige Plaats. De Reformatie der Kerk in de XIXde Eeuw. Reveil en Afscheiding,* pp. 11–126; Verhagen's *De Geschiedenis der Christelijke Kerk in Nederland aan het Volk Verhaald* (Second edition), pp. 7–330; Van Velzen's *Gedenkschrift der Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk bij Vijftig-Jarig Jubile, 14 October 1884,* pp. 7–133; Wagenaar's *Het "Reveil" en "Afscheiding". Bijdrage tot de Vaderlandsche Kerkgeschiedenis van de eerste Helft der XIVde Eeuw;* Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Iowa in 1846* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXII, pp. 483–531.

natural equality of man. Apparently this is also the reason why many of them clung so long to the older parties and were lukewarm in their admiration of abolitionist leaders. The Calvinistic conception of calling in this life, which entailed a sort of intramundane or secular asceticism, had an obvious influence upon their lives. They sought to lead exemplary lives, sober, thrifty, and industrious, and rarely looked to the courts to settle their differences. Their religious convictions undoubtedly led them to be temperate, but this in no wise made prohibitionists of them, especially when it was proposed to forbid the sale of wine for sacramental purposes. Similarly the Calvinistic conception of family life must have been potent. Any attempt to understand the Dutch immigrant before the Civil War would certainly seem to require a clear appreciation of this fact.[6]

Emigration societies had been formed in 1846 in The Netherlands, apparently in imitation of German associations with the same object in view. These were under the leadership of A. Brummelkamp and A. C. Van Raalte at Arnhem,[7] H. P. Scholte at Utrecht,[8] and C. Steketee at Goes in Zeeland.[9] Soon many sympathizers in other parts of the

[6] Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, pp. 102–132; Troeltsch's *Die Sociallehren der Christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (Third edition), pp. 613–794; and O'Brien's *An Essay on the Economic Effects of the Reformation*, pp. 19–134. For pietism, see also M'Giffert's *Protestant Thought before Kant*, pp. 155–185.

[7] Brummelkamp's *Levensbeschrijving van wijlen Professor Brummelkamp Hoogleeraar te Kampen*, pp. 205–209. See also Lucas's *The Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan in 1846* in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. VI, pp. 669–674, for a translation of the articles of their constitution.

[8] Lucas's *A Document Relating to Dutch Immigration to Iowa, 1845-1846*, in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXI, pp. 457–465.

[9] Lucas's *A Document relating to the Founding of Zeeland, Michigan, in 1847*, in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Vol. XII, pp. 99–107; Keppel's *The Immigration and Early History of the People of Zeeland, Ottawa County, Michigan, in 1847*.

Kingdom joined them. Supported by Seine Bolks, Martin Ypma, and Van der Meulen, Van Raalte founded in 1847 a colony in Ottawa and Allegan counties in Michigan where the villages of Holland, Zeeland, Groningen, Vriesland, Graafschap, Overisel, and Drenthe were founded or planned.[10] Attracted by opportunities to work, many Hollanders soon settled in neighboring places such as Grand Rapids, Muskegon, Grand Haven, and Kalamazoo. In Wisconsin G. Baaij settled at Alto and Waupun in Fond du Lac County,[11] and P. Zonne in Holland Township in Sheboygan County. A Catholic congregation from North Brabant had settled at De Pere in 1846 under the guidance of Father Theodore Van den Broek.[12] There was also a group in Milwaukee where the ninth ward soon became predominantly Dutch.[13] H. P. Scholte founded Pella in Lake Prairie Township in Marion County, Iowa, and a few Hollanders also took up their abode in Keokuk[14] and Burlington.[15] There

[10] Versteeg's *De Pelgrem Vaders van het Westen. Eene Geschiedenis van de Worstelingen der Hollandsche Nederzettingen in Michigan benevens eene schets van de Kolonie Pella in Iowa;* Peter's *A Dutch Settlement in Michigan.*

[11] *De Toestand der Hollandsche Kolonisatie in den Staat Michigan, Noord-Amerika, in het Begin van het Jaar 1849,* pp. 29–39 (Letter from G. Baaij of Alto, Wisconsin, January 4, 1849). See also the extensive description by C. Schoemaker in *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* August 15, 1854, and of P. Zonne in the same paper for November 30, 1852. In 1859 Alto was estimated to contain 800 Hollanders.— *De Ware Burger,* October 4, 1859.

[12] Sister Mary Alphonsa's *A Story of Father Van den Broek, O. P. A Study of Holland and the Story of the Early Settlement of Wisconsin.* See also articles on *Hollanders in the United States* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. VII, p. 394, and on *Theodore J. Van den Broek,* Vol. XV, p. 269.

[13] *De Nieuwsbode,* April 21, 1857.

[14] Van der Zee's *The Hollanders in Iowa,* pp. 57–93. See also Sipma's *Brief van Sjoerd Aukes Sipma aan de Ingezetenen van Bornwerd en Westdongeradeel uit wier Midden hij in het Voorjaar van 1847 als Landverhuizer is vertrokken naar Pella in de Vereenigde Staaten van Noord-Amerika* (Dokkum, 1848).

[15] The Budde family settled here. A large number of letters from them to J. Wormser of Amsterdam is still in the possession of P. Wormser in Hilversum.

was a considerable group in Chicago and near Thornton and Hope south of the city, a few at Galena and Ainsworth, Illinois,[16] Cincinnati, Ohio,[17] Lafayette, Indiana,[18] St. Louis, Missouri, Paterson, New Jersey, and in New York at Rochester, Pultneyville, Clymer, and New York City.[19]

The immigrants were a desirable addition in their new neighborhood in every way and compared most favorably with those who came from other nations. Education had long been esteemed in The Netherlands, and although the immigrants were for the most part from the lower classes and the more backward parts of the nation, nearly all were able to read and write. Most of their reading was the intimately pietistic and edifying literature of such ministers as Koelman, Lampe, Smytegelt, Groenewegen, Comrie, and Van Niel, the translated works of Rutherford, Bunyan, and Erskine, the poems of Cats and of Van Lodensteyn, the *Imitation of Christ*, the famous *Logike Latreia* of Brakel, and, of course, the Bible.[20] Among the older folk of today in the groups descended from these immigrants these works are yet held in honor and there is still sufficient demand for them to warrant a number of bookstores carrying them in stock. In addition to these were the newer works such as Merle d'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation.*[21]

[16] *De Nieuwsbode,* May 9, 1860.

[17] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* September 26, 1854.

[18] Osinga's *Tiental Brieven Betrekkelijk de Reis, Aankomst, en Vestiging in Noord-Amerika van Eenige Landverhuizers vertrokken uit de Grietenijen Het Bildt en Barradeel in Vriesland* (Franeker, 1848), pp. 19–30, 36–43.

[19] De Beij and Zwemer's *Stemmen uit de Hollandsch-Gereformeerde Kerk in de Vereenigde Staten van Amerika,* pp. 59, 60; *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* April 18, 1854.

[20] Beets's *De Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk in Noord-Amerika. Zestig Jaren van Strijd en Zegen,* pp. 21–26.

[21] An edition of this work in Dutch was brought out by J. Binnekant in Holland, Michigan.

The founders of Pella were drawn in part from the bourgeoisie of Utrecht and compared favorably with the educated classes in any American community. Scholte himself was versatile, an able student of theology and the Bible, master of a respectable number of languages, and endowed with gifts of leadership. Nollen had been a lector in the gymnasium at Brielle.[22] The earliest pictures of Pella are from the brush of J. Nollen,[23] and Mrs. Scholte always had a passion for painting.[24] An observer wrote to the *Boston Herald* of Scholte as a "man of extraordinary mental power, and an orator of great merit. He is one of the ripest scholars in America and a profound statesman and would do credit to the state in the counsels of the nation"; and of Pella's society as "highly refined" and of the immigrants in general as "not the uneducated foreigners which (*sic*) we frequently see in our country but as a general thing first class people — the 'upper ten' as we Yankees say — the best of Holland's citizens. Some of Mr. Scholte's counsellors (Mr. Bousquet for instance) are numbered among the ablest men that have ever come from Europe."[25]

Under these circumstances Americanization was rapid and expression of political views quite intelligent. From the first the leaders emphasized the duty of becoming citizens. Through the influence of Scholte the legislature of Iowa in January, 1848, granted the newcomers in Lake Prairie Township in Marion County the privilege of choos-

[22] *De Nieuwsbode,* October 3, 1855.

[23] See the reproductions in the *De Hollanders in Jowa. Brieven uit Pella* (Arnhem, 1858). For another see Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis van Pella en Omgeving,* Vol. II, p. 23. The original is still in the old Scholte home in Pella.

[24] An example is to be found in the home of Mr. David Scholte of Seattle, Washington.

[25] Quoted in the *Pella Gazette,* June 7, 1855. English was generally used by many of the Netherlanders from the very first.— *The Pella Gazette,* February 1, August 2, 1855.

ing their local officials from among themselves after they had indicated their intention of becoming citizens.[26] In April there was a meeting in Scholte's home in Pella and, of the twenty officials to be elected, fifteen were chosen from among the Hollanders. Scholte was named justice of the peace and school inspector.[27] Quintus, the editor of *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, the first newspaper in the Dutch language to be published in America,[28] printed a list of the Presidents with some comment on each of their administrations and party affiliations for the instruction of his readers[29] whom he repeatedly urged to become citizens.[30] A similar influence radiated from the *Hollander* of Holland, Michigan, a paper somewhat, at least in its earlier issues, under the influence of Van Raalte. It devoted as much space to items in Dutch as in English and contained not only comment on political events but also articles for the pious edification of its readers.[31]

As a rule the Hollanders were Democratic. Their social origins and their outlook upon life naturally made them predisposed to embrace the opinions of the party which still professed adherence to the traditions of Jefferson and Jack-

[26] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 61, 62; *The Pella Gazette*, February 1, 1855; *Laws of Iowa*, 1848, p. 16.

[27] Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, pp. 10, 11.

[28] The first number appeared on October 16, 1849. From January 6, 1855, to May 1, 1860, when it was merged with the *Sheboygan Zeitung*, its title was *De Nieuwsbode*. The files to January 19, 1858, are in the Ryerson Library of Grand Rapids, Michigan, and after that date in the newspaper collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison, Wisconsin.— Griswold's *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Second edition), p. 436.

[29] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, August 8, 1850.

[30] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, July 11, 1850, and April 27, 1852; *De Nieuwsbode*, February 6, 1855.

[31] Dosker's *Levensschets van Rev. A. C. Van Raalte, D. D.*, pp. 175–179. A few numbers are in the possession of G. Van Schelven of Holland, Michigan.

son. The Democratic party generally stood for a liberal policy towards immigrants and wished to admit them to citizenship as early as possible. The Whigs on the other hand were suspicious of the foreigners and were eager to extend the time required to take this step. The Dutch participated in the criticism common on the frontier that the Whigs had failed to carry out their promises for local improvements. They were anxious for governmental assistance in such places as Black Lake in Ottawa County, Michigan, and in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin. Hence Lewis Cass was very careful in January, 1851, to inform his friend, J. R. Kellogg of Allegan, Michigan, a man prominent in the political life of the State and a staunch friend of Van Raalte and the Hollanders, that the river and harbor appropriation bill would receive his full support.[32] For these reasons the first election (March, 1851) in the Michigan colony revealed ten Democrats to one Whig.[33] In Wisconsin the voters of Holland Township in Sheboygan County had been apparently as overwhelmingly Democratic in April of the previous year when they had elected nine of their own nationality to office.[34] This sentiment was also apparent in the autumn elections.[35] But while Quintus aggressively championed Democratic principles,[36] Scholte was drawn to the Whig party largely through the political ideals of Henry Clay, and in 1852 he wrote a series of articles in the *Des Moines Valley Whig and Keokuk Register* of Keokuk over the pen name, "A National Republican", explaining the Whig doctrines.[37]

[32] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* March 26, 1851.

[33] *The Grand Rapids Eagle,* November 19, 1851.

[34] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* April 9, 16, 1850.

[35] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* November 7, 1850.

[36] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* September 19, 1850.

[37] *The Pella Gazette,* April 3, 1856.

The national election of 1852 was the first in which the Hollanders under the existing laws governing admission to citizenship could participate. A third Dutch newspaper, the *Nederlander*, appeared in June at Kalamazoo, Michigan, under the editorship of G. Van der Waal. It concerned itself chiefly, it seems, with the question of internal improvements for which both parties professed great enthusiasm. But its Democratic leanings were doubtful, and the paper was suspected of Whiggism inasmuch as it was printed by the *Michigan Telegraph*, a Whig paper.[38] At the elections in Holland Township of Sheboygan County on April 6, many Democratic Hollanders were again elected to office.[39] At the same time two-thirds of the voters in Ottawa County were of the same conviction and were said to be thoroughly weary of the failure of the Whig administration to do anything for their harbor at the head of Black Lake.[40] Anti-Whig sentiment appears to have been rife.[41] A Democratic rally was held in Grand Rapids at which General Lewis Cass spoke. He eloquently arraigned "aristocracy", defended "democracy", and advocated river and harbor improvements and a tariff. H. Van Eyck of Groningen, Michigan, reported that among all the Hollanders the last spark of Whiggism had been extinguished. In the parade appeared a wagon filled with Hollanders on which was erected a hickory pole with a banner and legend apparently in both Dutch and English: "Oppressed in the Old World, protected by the Democracy in the New World, we go for Pierce

[38] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, June 22, July 27, 1852. Only a few numbers appeared and no copies are known to exist.

[39] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, March 17, April 30, 1852.

[40] *The Grand Rapids Inquirer*, August 11, 1852, quoting *De Hollander* of August 4, 1852.

[41] *The Grand Rapids Inquirer*, August 4, 1852, quoting *The Grand Rapids Eagle* of July 14 and *De Hollander* of July 21, 1852. See also *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, July 27, November 9, 1852.

and King." Beneath was a dead raccoon with head hanging downward.[42] Such sentiment was common even in New York, as is apparent from the able letter by N. W. A. Catz Van Smallenberg of Buffalo, which Quintus printed in his paper.[43] When the November elections took place, everywhere, save in Pella where Scholte's influence undoubtedly kept some in the Whig ranks,[44] the Hollanders in strong majorities voted the Democratic ticket. In Milwaukee the Democrat, Albert Bode, was chosen as clerk of the board of supervisors of Milwaukee County.[45]

During this time the wave of prohibition sentiment which swept over the country in the wake of legislation in Maine also attracted attention among the Hollanders. They were generally very temperate and intoxication was an uncommon thing in most of their settlements. The practical social problem of the saloon and of drinking did not exist among them. In Zeeland, Michigan, for example, there was not for many years enough demand for liquor to enable a saloon to exist. As conservative Calvinists, who drew their theological inspiration from the canons of the Synod of Dordrecht and their practical pietism from the theological lights of the eighteenth century, they were splendid examples of sobriety, but they could attach little faith in prohibition as a panacea for such ills as immorality and crime. The *Hollander* favored the measure insofar as it might discourage drunkenness and did not conflict with "God's Word", a reservation arising from the fact that wine for sacramental purposes could not be sold under the terms of the law.[46] In

[42] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* November 2, 1852.

[43] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* October 12, 1852.

[44] Definite information as to numbers is lacking, but see the *Pella Gazette,* April 3, 1856.

[45] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* November 2, 9, 16, 1852.

[46] *De Hollander,* December 22, 1853.

June, 1853, the measure was overwhelmingly defeated in the Holland colony in Michigan, largely, it seems, because of this restriction,[47] and also in Sheboygan County where Quintus heartily attacked it.[48] Scholte also strongly opposed the measure, predicted its failure, and, in 1856 was gratified by the correctness of his forecast.[49] There were, however, a few exceptions such as Catz Van Smallenberg and A. Van der Kolk, who were ardently sympathetic to the prohibition movement.[50]

The Omnibus Bill of 1850, the agitation aroused by the recapture of fugitive slaves, the rapid growth of anti-slavery sentiment, and the distressing quarrel in Kansas induced many Hollanders as well as native Americans to reconsider their position. Although Quintus was disappointed when President Pierce vetoed the river and harbor appropriation bill, [51] it was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill that led him to abandon the Democrats.[52] "Clouds are gathering ominously in the North and neither Stephen A. Douglas nor his henchmen will ever escape the thunderbolts", he wrote, and declared that it was the South that inspired every act of Congress in the interests of slavery.[53] "Conscience" was now forcing him into the Republican party, and on August 8, 1854, he published a call to the Republicans of the Third District of Wisconsin to meet at Waupun on September 20th.[54] He attended their county convention

[47] *De Grondwet*, December 15, 1914, quoting *De Hollander* of June 29, 1853; *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, October 4, 1853.

[48] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, August 23, 1853.

[49] *The Pella Gazette*, December 16, 1856.

[50] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, October 4, 1853, April 25, 1854.

[51] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, August 15, 22, 1854.

[52] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 22, 1857, August 22, 1859.

[53] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, July 11, August 8, 1854.

[54] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, August 8, 1854.

on October 25th at Sheboygan Falls,[55] urged the Hollanders to vote for Joseph Schrage, candidate for the State legislature, and C. Billinghurst for Congress, and announced his own candidacy for the position of clerk of the court in his county.[56]

The Hollanders around Black Lake in Michigan were still overwhelmingly Democratic in the spring elections of 1854,[57] and during the following summer the *Hollander* supported the candidate for congressman, Samuel Clark, who had voted for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.[58] But even among the subscribers of that paper, among whom sentiment against slavery had ever been strong, a more pronounced spirit of dissatisfaction seemed to be growing. This was especially the case in Zeeland. These "Whig-Republicans", as they were called, found strong protagonists among the elders, deacons, and ministers of the Reformed Church among whom were Van Raalte and Van der Meulen.[59] A similar change in opinion is evident elsewhere. A Hollander in Kalamazoo, not well acquainted with the English language, declared that he would vote for the Free Soil ticket but naturally enough said *voor de Françoisen*, "for the French".[60] In Grand Rapids John Bijlsma held it a Christian duty to oppose slavery.[61] Quintus appealed to the Netherlanders in Illinois to support the Republicans.[62] In Chicago, abolitionist sentiment was especially powerful,

[55] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, September 26, October 31, 1854.

[56] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, October 31, November 7, 1854.

[57] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, April 18, 1854.

[58] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, August 29, September 12, 1854.

[59] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, November 21, 28, 1854; *De Nieuwsbode*, April 14, 1857.

[60] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, October 10, 1854.

[61] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, September 19, 26, 1854.

[62] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode*, October 17, 1854.

and a number of subscribers, displeased with Quintus's support of the Democrats, refused, after reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* to receive any further copies of *De Nieuwsbode.*[63] In January, 1853, Quintus rejected the articles from the pen of one of the abilitionist group, H. Van der Kolk, and refused to entertain the petition of twenty-one men to have them printed.[64] But in the summer following his conversion to Republicanism they were gladly accepted.[65] In Buffalo, N. W. A. Catz Van Smallenberg had joined the Free Soilers into whose ranks most opponents of slavery at Buffalo had apparently been drawn.[66]

Scholte, however, steadfastly remained independent in all this shifting opinion. In the autumn of 1854 he was moved to begin the publication of the *Pella Gazette.*[67] "We do not intend to give a blind credence to the machinations of any of these parties now dominant. We shall boldly avow our sentiments respecting any of the great movements of the age, regardless of political bias", he announced in the initial issue.[68] Like Quintus and the Hollanders in general, he detested Know-Nothing nativism and opposed the secrecy of the party, its political antagonism to Catholicism, and its provincial opposition to the foreigners.[69] He cited the case of Kosciusko, De Kalb, and Lafayette, who loved the Declaration of Independence and its principles afterwards embodied in the Constitution. To him an American was "one who would defend these principles against external foes and traitors and teach the immigrants to love the institutions of

[63] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* January 25, 1853.

[64] *De Nieuwsbode,* February 15, 1856.

[65] *De Nieuwsbode,* August 22, September 12, 1856.

[66] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* March 8, 1854.

[67] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* November 21, 1854.

[68] *The Pella Gazette,* February 1, 1855.

[69] *De Sheboygan Nieuwsbode,* February 6, 1854.

America and prepare them for good citizenship."[70] The Know-Nothing party possessed no real principles, he thought, and he predicted for it a speedy and inglorious end.[71]

But in the all important matter of slavery, Scholte could not follow the new trend of opinion among the Hollanders. He detested the institution, and declared that its removal from American soil would be a blessing.[72] Following the teachings of Henry Clay, whom he greatly admired, he believed that the Federal Union should look mainly after national matters. Slavery was a sectional question and it should never become the main object of national consideration. The heated partisanship of the day would, he feared, throw the nation into the throes of civil war, a prospect at which he shuddered. Compromise, he felt, was the only counsel of wisdom,[73] and with this in mind he began on June 7, 1855, to discuss in a series of editorials the whole basis of the slave problem.[74]

In Scholte's opinion the political parties of 1855 were entitled to but little support. Republicanism was especially dangerous. Slavery was contrary to the rights of man embodied in the Declaration of Independence, and to the Constitution as was shown by its two-thirds rule. The clause restricting importation[75] revealed the fact that the framers

[70] *The Pella Gazette*, May 3, 10, 1855.

[71] *The Pella Gazette*, May 17, 1855.

[72] *The Pella Gazette*, May 24, 1855. J. Wormser, in his *Het Leven van Hendrik Peter Scholte*, in *Een Schat in Aarden Vaten*, Eerste Series, II (Nijverdal, 1915), (*footnote*), pp. 192, 193, states that Scholte's attitude towards slavery was ambiguous. This is based upon a letter from J. Berkhout to Wormser's father. But Berkhout is not trustworthy as his pamphlet, *Brief uit Noord-Amerika* (Amsterdam, 1849), clearly reveals.

[73] *The Pella Gazette*, May 31, 1855.

[74] *The Pella Gazette*, June 7, 1855.

[75] *The Pella Gazette*, June 7, 1855.

regarded the institution as odious.[76] But the matter was not to be settled by the application of abstract theories without consideration of the actual interests involved. Reviewing the economic development of slavery, he showed how it had become a fundamental thing in the life of the South and pointed out that any effort to eradicate it by mere governmental fiat would fail and possibly either extend it over the entire nation or occasion the disruption of the Union. The spirit of the Constitution did not imply limitation by force, in the spirit of abolitionism, but rather compromise which should recognize the rights of all sections.[77] Little more could be expected from the Whigs who since their defeat in 1852 were quite moribund. The Democrats had shown by their Baltimore platform of that year that their principles were in no way different, and the Know-Nothings, it was certain, were now utterly incompetent. No existing party "according to professed principles and known actions", he said, was "worthy the confidence and support of American freemen."[78]

In April, 1856, Scholte finished his review of the problem, formulated his proposals for a compromise in "an act to settle difficulties in reference to the organization and settlement of new territories, the delivery of fugitives from services or labor, etc.," and forwarded it to the Senate and the House of Representatives. It provided (1) that Congress should protect the rights of settlers in the Territories, pass no laws in a sectional spirit and introduce no institution not guaranteed by the Constitution, nor should any territorial legislature pass such laws; (2) that Congress should employ sufficient military force to protect the inhabitants against all insolence so that they might be free in their poli-

[76] *The Pella Gazette*, June 14, 1855.

[77] *The Pella Gazette*, June 21, 1855.

[78] *The Pella Gazette*, June 28, 1855.

tical acts; (3) that the people should be entirely uncoerced in adopting or excluding such institutions as they might wish; (4) that Congress could not lawfully refuse admission to the Union to any State that had adopted or excluded such institutions; (5) that fugitive slaves should be delivered up to their rightful claimants upon presentation of accurate description and statement of time of escape; (6) that interfering with recapture should be punishable as a felony but that no one should be forced to aid in slave catching, and that the refugee should have the right of counsel and fair trial; (7) that the sovereign power of a State to prevent slavery should not be interpreted to prevent citizens of other States where slavery exists from passing across its borders with their slaves unless such slaves were being taken to market; (8) that any attempt to dissolve the Union would be an act of treason; (9) that all covert political societies should be declared public nuisances which had no place in our free institutions, saving the right of free speech.[79]

But during the early months of 1856 the general impotence of the Whigs led Scholte to change his position and he at once began to write in behalf of the Democratic party.[80] He particularly feared the Republicans whose party, as he pointed out, was composed of diverse elements, extreme devotees of "niggerism", who would only adopt either revolution or abolition,[81] and Know-Nothings, hostile to aliens as was apparent from the fact that in Massachusetts the Republicans had voted with them to extend the period of naturalization to twenty-one years.[82] A series of

[79] *The Pella Gazette,* April 10, 1855.

[80] *The Pella Gazette,* June 17, 1856; *De Nieuwsbode,* August 31, 1858, August 10, 17, 1859.

[81] *The Pella Gazette,* December 15, 1856.

[82] *The Pella Gazette,* February 28, 1856.

editorials discussed the issues of the coming election in which the rights of the inhabitants of national Territories, so conspicuously violated in the case of Nebraska, were discussed.[83]

Elsewhere Republican sentiment appears to have been gaining ground. Quintus was ardently writing against the extension of slavery, the aristocracy which it fostered, and the Know-Nothings who, in the South and elsewhere, had given their support to the slave power.[84] The institution of slavery he held to be wholly in conflict with religion.[85] A Fremont and Dayton Club was formed at Amsterdam, Wisconsin, and at Sheboygan the weight of opinion was apparently as decided.[86] Quintus wrote energetically in behalf of William R. Gorsline, Republican candidate for circuit judge, opposed his antagonist, J. A. Eastman, who was tainted with Know-Nothingism, and announced[87] his own candidacy as clerk of the county court.[88] The Reverend Peter Zonne opened his church for mass meetings.[89] At Milwaukee and also in Chicago, in spite of some initial apathy, there developed much enthusiasm for Fremont.[90] The *Grand Rapids Eagle* on July 14th appealed to the Hollanders of the locality to form a Fremont club which was being promoted by O. Van der Sluys and George Steketee.[91] Here, however, Democratic sentiment was still strong, for in May, C. Steketee, assistant postmaster, P. G. Hodenpyl,

[83] *The Pella Gazette*, July 31, August 7, 14, 21, 28, 1856.

[84] *De Nieuwsbode*, July 1, 29, September 9, 23, 1856.

[85] *De Nieuwsbode*, May 27, 1856.

[86] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 1, 9, 23, 1856.

[87] *De Nieuwsbode*, March 25, 1856.

[88] *De Nieuwsbode*, November 11, 1856.

[89] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 9, 1856.

[90] *De Nieuwsbode*, October 28, 1856.

[91] *De Nieuwsbode*, July 22, 1856.

M. Vlekke, and P. Van den Berg of Grand Haven organized a Buchanan Club because they feared that a Republican victory would be followed by a revival of Know-Nothing discrimination against the foreigner.[92] The *Hollander*, as well as many people in the Dutch colony, also identified Fremont with nativism, and a proof of the paper's power among the Dutch may be inferred from the fact that the Republicans sought to purchase its support.[93]

Scholte's able editorials received some attention and were soon reissued in the form of a pamphlet[94] which was described by a reviewer as "by far the most candid and luminous survey of the vexed question that has yet appeared."[95] So general was the desertion of the Hollanders to the Republican ranks that Scholte's services were secured for the great Democratic rally in southwest Michigan to be held at Kalamazoo on September 5th. It was a remarkable demonstration: from Grand River valley went a "cavalcade of 151 men, women, and boys, 64 horses, the band, a small sail vessel, and a large cask of whiskey!"[96] The railroads charged only half fare, and an unprecedented number of people came.[97] At Michigan City Scholte was joined by General Lewis Cass, John C. Breckinridge, candidate for the vice presidency, and William Preston of Kentucky, subsequently minister to Spain under the Buchanan administration, all of whom had just come from a rally at Tippe-

[92] *De Nieuwsbode,* May 27, August 26, 1856.

[93] *De Nieuwsbode,* August 12, 1856, quoting *The Allegan Journal* of July 30, 1856. See also the *Pella Gazette,* September 18, 1856, and the *Grand Rapids Enquirer,* August 12, 1856.

[94] *American Slavery in Reference to Present Agitation in the United States* (Pella, 1856). The only copy of this pamphlet known to the author is in the possession of Mrs. H. P. Scholte in Pella, Iowa.

[95] *The Christian Intelligencer,* November 6, 1856.

[96] *The Grand Rapids Eagle,* September 4, 1856.

[97] *The Kalamazoo Gazette,* August 22, 1856.

canoe Field, and at nine o'clock the entire party arrived at Kalamazoo and were conducted to the residence of Governor Ramsay.[98]

The Hollanders of this community were, it appears, largely in favor of Fremont and, in spite of an impressive delegation from the Buchanan Club of Grand Rapids, managed to outdo the noise of the Democrats.[99] After lunch speeches were made in the public park by Breckinridge, followed first by Preston, next by Scholte in Dutch, and again by Breckinridge, who was then followed by John Little, the local candidate for Congress. In the evening Scholte again appealed to his countrymen who were constantly shouting *hoera voor Fremont*, "hurrah for Fremont". Breckinridge, Preston, and Cass then proceeded to Detroit, while Scholte went to Grand Rapids to strengthen the Democrats in the Dutch settlements.[100]

In anticipation of seeing the man whose name was so well known to all, the Hollanders crowded to hear him on the evening of the sixth of September.[101] On Sunday, the seventh, Scholte preached in the First Reformed Church of which a Republican editor sarcastically wrote, "We presume it is all right for ministers to meddle with politics whenever one can be found possessing so little of the spirit of Christianity as to be able to aid the cause of slavery extension."[102] On the following evening he spoke in English for an hour and a quarter before a large audience in Democratic Hall. He spoke "in a peculiarly animated, eloquent, and pointed manner", and, if we may judge from the very

[98] *The Pella Gazette*, September 16, 1856.

[99] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 16, 1856.

[100] *The Pella Gazette*, September 11, 1856; *The Niles Republican*, September 13, 1856; *De Nieuwsbode*, October 2, 1856.

[101] *The Pella Gazette*, September 18, 1856.

[102] *The Grand Rapids Eagle*, September 18, 1856.

full report of it, must have made a strong impression.[103] The Reverend C. Van der Meulen conducted him to Zeeland the next day. No account has apparently come to us of his activities in the Holland colony or at Grand Haven and his purpose of visiting Sheboygan County seems to have been abandoned. He felt that his visit had been valuable and was sanguine enough to believe that it would undo much Republican propaganda.[104]

The autumn elections of 1856 nevertheless revealed a considerable desertion among the Hollanders to the ranks of the Republicans. Scholte was attacked in verses of bitter abolitionist spirit,[105] and Catz Van Smallenberg, now apparently near abolitionism, was still writing articles against the extension of slavery.[106] In Sheboygan County there were enough Republicans in Holland and Sheboygan townships to give Quintus, who aspired to become county clerk on the Republican ticket, a majority, but he lacked eight votes in the county to secure the office.[107] An effort to induce the Hollanders at Kalamazoo to oppose Fremont, who was represented as cherishing Know-Nothing sentiments, apparently had little influence.[108] A Dutchman living at Cooper near Kalamazoo was sent to the Dutch settlements between Grand Rapids and Lake Michigan to counteract this propaganda which had, it appears, been as vigorously disseminated in those parts.[109] Yet Fillmore and Holland

[103] *The Grand Rapids Daily Enquirer*, September 10, 1856; *The Weekly Enquirer*, September 18, 1856.

[104] *The Pella Gazette*, September 18, 1856.

[105] *De Nieuwsbode*, October 7, 1856.

[106] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 18, 1856, October 13, 1857.

[107] *De Nieuwsbode*, November 11, 1856.

[108] *The Kalamazoo Gazette*, October 31, 1856.

[109] See the letter of A. D. K., October 19, 1856, in the *De Nieuwsbode*, January 27, 1857, quoting *De Nieuwsbode* of Zierikzee (The Netherlands) of December 10, 1856.

townships of Ottawa County still had strong Democratic majorities.[110] Scholte was attacked by the *Keokuk Gate City,* the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* and the *Fort Des Moines Citizen.*[111] In August he addressed the people of the country around Pella, in Dutch and English,[112] and was gratified by an overwhelming Democratic majority for Buchanan in Lake Prairie Township.[113]

The year 1857 was externally at least quiescent among the Hollanders. But the anticipation of better conditions under the new adminstration was speedily shattered. Continued violence in Kansas and the Dred Scott Decision revealed to many the fatuity of moderation. Scholte still persisted in regarding Republicanism as anti-constitutional, anti-national, and anti-Christian,[114] and refused to be stampeded into abolitionism. He maintained that negroes were not citizens, basing his views upon the fact that they took no part in forming the Constitution and because the framers did not include them as such.[115] Catz Van Smallenberg of Buffalo was still reluctant to become Republican only because he feared the same dire consequences that terrified Scholte, and he supported Isaac Van der Poll, a man of Dutch extraction and a candidate for some local office, who, although a Democrat, was opposed to any further extension of slavery. He declared that the free immigrant could not tolerate slavery because he could not compete with slave labor and that he would therefore want a free Kansas.[116]

[110] *De Grondwet,* December 22, 1914, quoting *De Hollander* of November 12, 1856.

[111] *The Pella Gazette,* April 15, June 5, October 3, 1856.

[112] *The Pella Gazette,* July 24, August 21, 1856.

[113] *The Pella Gazette,* November 6, 1856

[114] *The Pella Gazette,* September 17, 1857.

[115] *The Pella Gazette,* April 2, 1857.

[116] *De Nieuwsbode,* October 15, 1857.

There was a noticeable tendency among Netherlanders to join the Republican party or at least to sympathize with its tenets. In Grand Rapids the desertion from the Democratic party was quite large. The third ward, which was now largely made up of Dutch immigrants, revealed a heavier percentage of Republican votes in the city elections of April 6, 1857, than any of the other four wards.[117] In fact, it appears that the Hollanders in Michigan were even more prone at this moment to abandon the Democratic party than the older Americans. In the Dutch colony in Ottawa County, where Democratic sentiment was dominant until the Civil War, Van Raalte and Van der Meulen were exerting a constant influence in favor of anti-slavery opinions, and it was apparently beginning to count in spite of the prestige of the *Hollander*.[118] On April 14th the entire Republican ticket in Holland Township in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin, was elected by a decided majority.[119] The ninth ward in Milwaukee elected D. J. Doornik alderman on the "People's Ticket" which was an independent ticket opposed to the extension of slavery and certainly tending in the direction of abolitionism.[120] But in Pella, Scholte's influence helped to keep the Hollanders in the Democratic party which won an overwhelming victory in the August elections in Lake Prairie Township.[121]

Quintus deserted the Republicans in the autumn of 1857 for largely personal reasons. In fact it is really not possible to regard him as favorably as Scholte, who, more than any other Netherlander, had a thorough understanding of American politics and showed something of the vision of a

[117] *De Nieuwsbode*, April 21, 1857.

[118] *De Nieuwsbode*, April 14, October 12, 1857.

[119] *De Nieuwsbode*, April 14, 1857.

[120] *De Nieuwsbode*, March 31, April 13, 1857.

[121] *The Pella Gazette*, October 8, 1857.

statesman. Quintus had printed a quantity of Republican campaign literature which had not been paid for.[122] Later it was hinted that he really changed front because he failed in the election of the previous year.[123] On September 22, 1857, he suddenly announced his conversion and declared that he had been induced to change his party affiliations because of the favoritism shown by some of the members of the party who were too eager to extend the franchise to the negroes, and because others were tainted with nativism. Examples were provided by their actions in Pennsylvania; in Massachusetts where they advanced N. P. Banks, who disliked foreigners, as candidate for Governor; and in Wisconsin where the *River Falls Journal* was saying that negroes were more intelligent than foreigners.[124] He opposed the Republican candidate for Governor, A. W. Randall, who had, when he was a member of the Assembly, voted for the prohibition law; and commended James B. Cross, the Democrat, for voting against the measure.[125]

Quintus's influence was apparently sufficient to aid the wavering cause of the Democrats in some parts. His change of front was greeted with applause by the dwindling group in Grand Rapids[126] and by the *Hollander*.[127] He supported J. R. Muller from Amsterdam, Wisconsin, the Democratic candidate for the Assembly from the third district, and opposed the Republican, A. H. Van Wie, both of whom were Hollanders. The elections on November 3, 1857, in Holland

[122] *De Nieuwsbode*, February 3, October 13, 1851.

[123] *De Ware Burger*, September 13, 1859.

[124] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 22, November 10, 1857.

[125] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 29, 1857.

[126] *De Nieuwsbode*, October 12, 27, 1857. Some subscriptions among the Republicans were lost.— See the issue of April 6, 1858.

[127] *De Nieuwsbode*, October 13, 1857, quoting *De Hollander* of September 30, 1857.

Township gave the former a majority of only nine votes. As the Republicans had been so victorious in the spring this may with confidence be ascribed to the influence of Quintus.[128] In the ninth ward of Milwaukee the Democrats were still able to poll a majority of 419 votes for James B. Cross, and elected for the Assembly F. Berg who succeeded to the candidacy left vacant by the withdrawal of J. Vos.[129]

When Quintus sold *De Nieuwsbode* to A. Potts, a German, in the spring of 1858, his influence for the Democratic cause came to an abrupt end. The new editor, G. M. Groesbeek, who was a Hollander, at once reversed the policy of the paper,[130] and as strenuously condemned the "Lecompton swindle" as Quintus had decried its opponents.[131] The change was greeted with satisfaction in some quarters, but C. Steketee, the stalwart Democrat of Grand Rapids, Michigan, cancelled his subscription and refused to serve any longer as local agent for *De Nieuwsbode*.[132] Quintus was in ill health and at once started on a trip to The Netherlands. Stopping at Grand Rapids he was reported to have said that the people of Kansas had a full opportunity to express their sovereign will.[133] Groesbeek proved an ardent and capable champion of the Republican cause and printed articles and editorial letters, signed "Kosmopolitaan", purporting to be written from various parts of the nation where Netherlanders were living. The South, he asserted, despised the labor of "niggers", and also the freemen of the North. There was really no deep seated difference between aristocracy, Know-Nothingism, and despotism. No Dutchman

[128] *De Nieuwsbode*, October 20, 27, November 3, 10, 1857.

[129] *De Nieuwsbode*, November 10, 1857.

[130] *De Nieuwsbode*, March 9, 1858.

[131] *De Nieuwsbode*, March 2, April 6, 1858.

[132] *De Nieuwsbode*, March 23, April 6, May 18, 1858.

[133] *De Nieuwsbode*, June 22, 1858.

having his nation's traditions of liberty in his soul could now be a Democrat.[134] At the close of the year he discussed the slavery question from a Biblical point of view in which the whole religious humanitarian sentiment of abolition was fully revealed.[135] Catz Van Smallenberg was still reluctant to go so far,[136] but the small group at Galena, Illinois, had joined the Germans who were the first agitators against slavery in that vicinity. Speeches made by Stephen A. Douglas utterly failed to influence them.[137]

During this year Scholte's independent position began to lead him away from the Democrats. The spring elections of 1858 in Pella were Democratic,[138] undoubtedly largely because of his political tuition. But the policy of the Buchanan administration in Kansas was, in his opinion, allowing a national matter to be settled entirely in the interests of the sectional southern slave power, and the *Pella Gazette* of March 9, 1858, began to assume a more critical attitude toward the Democratic party.[139] The *Hollander* of Holland, Michigan, persisted in its old policy in spite of the rapidly growing Republican sentiment in Ottawa County.[140] And in Holland Township, Sheboygan County, there was still a strong minority that lamented the rise of the abolition spirit and wanted to remove slavery gradually.[141] But the elections in November in the county as well as in the township were Republican by a decided margin. G. Steenwijk of Columbia County, candidate for the Assembly, received a

[134] *De Nieuwsbode*, May 18, June 22, September 14, October 5, 1858.

[135] *De Nieuwsbode*, November 16, 24, December 1, 8, 15, 22, 1858.

[136] *De Nieuwsbode*, March 30, 1858.

[137] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 21, 1856, September 26, 1860.

[138] *De Nieuwsbode*, April 20, 1858.

[139] *De Nieuwsbode*, March 9, 1858.

[140] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 28, 1858.

[141] *De Nieuwsbode*, June 8, 1858.

large majority of votes over his Democratic opponent, Joshua J. Guppy.[142] Scholte definitely severed his connections with the Democrats in 1859. To *De Nieuwsbode* he wrote a full account of his reasons. Three years before he had supported the party because it seemed to him that the Democrats alone were capable of sound national legislation above all sectional interests. His faith had been misplaced: slavery had dominated the policies of the administration; the promise of a railroad to California had not been fulfilled; the problem of Kansas had not been settled; the homestead bill had been defeated; there had been financial mismanagement; and vast sums had been expended to lay hands on Cuba.[143] Scholte failed to appear at the Democratic State Convention to which he had been appointed a delegate, as he declared, "against my will and without my knowledge"; and at once joined the Republicans in their State Convention on June 22, 1859.[144] This act was eagerly applauded in the Republican newspapers of Iowa for it was confidently expected that Marion County would now certainly pass into the Republican fold.[145] Yet the autumn elections in Lake Prairie Township were again overwhelmingly Democratic[146] in spite of Scholte's influence, and the fact that the Hollanders were unalterably opposed to slavery. No arguments by Scholte during the next two years could induce them to abandon this position.

Elsewhere the Republican movement among the Hollanders was apparently winning more and more support. Quintus had returned from his visit abroad, and in the autumn

[142] *De Nieuwsbode,* November 16, 1858.

[143] *The Pella Gazette,* August 10, December 28, 1859.

[144] *The Pella Gazette,* July 22, 1859.

[145] Van der Zee's *The Hollanders in Iowa,* pp. 227, 228; *De Nieuwsbode,* September 7, 1859.

[146] *The Pella Gazette,* December 7, 1859.

of 1859 began the publication of the *Amerikaansche Stoompost* in Grand Rapids, Michigan.[147] But he could inject little vigor into the old Democratic party. C. Steketee bitterly attacked Scholte's desertion and his varied party affiliations, declaring that the devil himself could have taken as much pleasure in this as with the wool which, according to a popular Dutch saying, had been sheared from a hog.[148] The position of *De Nieuwsbode* did not please the Democratic minority among the Netherlanders in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin, and elsewhere, and in reponse to this feeling the *Ware Burger* (The True Citizen) was begun under the editorial direction of S. H. Salverda.[149] It severely criticized *De Nieuwsbode* for its frequent change of political policy and held that as its owner was a German its opinions could have no weight among the Hollanders.[150] It at once had a list of agents in New York City, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Catz Van Smallenberg of Buffalo worked in its behalf; apparently he could not bring himself to forsake the old Democratic party.[151] At this time also appeared the *Grondwet* at Holland, Michigan, a Republican paper which has ever since been one of the most important organs among the Dutch immigrants.[152] In the autumn elections in She-

147 *De Nieuwsbode*, November 16, December 21, 1859.

148 *De Nieuwsbode*, September 7, 14, 1859, quoting from *The Allegan Record* and *De Amerikaansche Stoompost.*

149 Founded at Holland, Sheboygan County, it is said, in January, 1859, by C. G. Van Altena of Milwaukee, and owned by him and the editor. It was moved to Waupun in September, but had great financial difficulties and was soon suspended. Only the numbers from September 13 to October 4, 1859, are known to exist (in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison, Wisconsin).— See Griswold's *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Second edition), p. 456.

150 *De Ware Burger*, September 13, 1859.

151 *De Ware Burger*, September 20, 1859.

152 *De Nieuwsbode*, September 5, 1859.

boygan County there were three Republican voters to one Democratic.[153] In the State elections Gijsbert Van Steenwijk was elected as comptroller of the bank, by a vote of 59,697 to 5288 for his Democratic opponent.[154]

In the momentous year 1860 the Hollanders were as acutely interested in the political issues before the country as were the Americans of native ancestry. Their press labored to enlighten those who were not entirely certain where their duty lay. Scholte complained that his fellow Hollanders were not fully acquainted with the seriousness of the problem before the electors.[155] The charge of Know-Nothingism was still frequently bandied back and forth between Democrats and Republicans, but apparently failed to create much impression among the Hollanders.[156] In Wisconsin, the Democrats had greatly dwindled in numbers. A few, however, remained faithful to their old allegiance, as at Milwaukee where the alderman, J. Vos, Albert Bode, and other disgruntled office seekers could not throw in their lot with the Republicans.[157] In Kalamazoo, Michigan, the majority of Hollanders now adhered to the new party.[158] In Grand Rapids, C. Steketee with characteristic Dutch tenacity still kept up a bold front in spite of the fact that the Holland Democratic Club threatened to pass into inglorious oblivion. The few Hollanders who could be brought together for the demonstration on April 2, 1860, had to ride, it was reported to Scholte in exaggerated terms, with the Irish.[159] Nor could Quintus's *Stoompost*, in spite of its

153 *De Nieuwsbode*, November 16, 1859.

154 *De Nieuwsbode*, April 13, September 7, December 16, 21, 1859.

155 *De Nieuwsbode*, September 19, 1860.

156 *De Nieuwsbode*, October 14, 1860; *The Pella Gazette*, January 25, 1860.

157 *De Nieuwsbode*, September 19, 1856.

158 *De Nieuwsbode*, January 29, February 8, September 19, October 10, 1860.

159 *De Nieuwsbode*, April 30, 1860.

feverish activity, exert but a very feeble influence.[160] In Ottawa County the Democratic support was more hopeful, and the *Hollander* courageously adhered to its Democratic principles in the face of a powerful Republican sentiment.[161] The *Ware Burger* had been discontinued the previous autumn.

The propaganda in behalf of the Republicans was carried on by the *Pella Gazette*, *De Nieuwsbode*, and the *Grondwet*. Issues of these papers were enthusiastically received,[162] and from all quarters came persistent reports of devotion to the principles proclaimed by the new party. At Galena,[163] Ainsworth, and Chicago practically all Hollanders came to its support.[164] In Milwaukee a Republican club was organized in the ninth ward in a preliminary meeting on June 5, 1860. In July it began to coöperate with the Germans, and one member of each group was appointed to work with the Republican central committee of the State,[165] which had already decided to publish in Dutch one of its more important campaign documents.[166]

Scholte's power was once more as far reaching as it had been in 1856. Proof of his influence in Iowa is attested by the fact that the Republican State Convention held at Des Moines in January, 1860, unanimously appointed him as a member of the delegation which totaled thirty-three to represent the State at the National Convention in Chicago.[167] He began a series of occasional articles in *De Nieuwsbode*,

[160] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 19, 1860.

[161] *De Nieuwsbode*, July 4, September 5, 19, 1860.

[162] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 5, 1860.

[163] *De Nieuwsbode*, July 4, August 8, September 26, October 24, 1860.

[164] *De Nieuwsbode*, May 9, 1860.

[165] *De Nieuwsbode*, July 4, 1860.

[166] *De Nieuwsbode*, May 2, 1860.

[167] *The Pella Gazette*, January 25, 1860; *The Iowa Citizen*, January 25, 1860.

in which he attacked the Buchanan administration for its policy in Kansas and the doctrine that slavery existed by virtue of the Constitution, branded squatter sovereignty as a device to deceive, and denounced the Democratic party for departing from its original policies and becoming the pliant instrument of the slave power.[168] Of his influence in Chicago not much can be said. Little is known of his feelings toward Lincoln until after the nomination. The Iowa delegation was undecided in each of the three ballots, but there was a disposition to favor Lincoln.[169] Scholte had scant sympathy for Seward's "higher law" because, however much he might be opposed to slavery on moral grounds, he had always been guided by a regard for the constitutional aspects of the problem rather than by humanitarian and religious aspects.[170] Later he became quite intimate with Lincoln, corresponded with him, and toward the close of the latter's career was asked by him to become minister to The Netherlands.[171] It is evident that the enthusiasm of the convention fired his zeal because at once upon his return to Pella he began writing to *De Nieuwsbode* splendid tributes to Lincoln's character and statesmanship.[172]

Quintus greeted the Republican choice with derision. He could say nothing favorable about "honest old Abe", as he was already known to the people, and about his eloquence. He treated his candidacy with levity, and argued that the public interest would be far better served by Douglas.[173]

[168] *The Pella Gazette,* April 4, 11, 1860.

[169] Herriott's *Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, pp. 187, 188.

[170] *The Pella Gazette,* February 22, 1860.

[171] This fact was related to the writer by the late Mr. H. P. Scholte of Pella and Mr. D. Scholte of Seattle, both sons of H. P. Scholte.

[172] *De Nieuwsbode,* May 30, 1860.

[173] *De Nieuwsbode,* October 10, 1860; *De Amerikaansche Stoompost,* October 12, 1860. This is the only copy of the *Stoompost* known to exist and the writer

But the cause of the Democrats in Grand Rapids was not promising. There the third ward was decidedly Republican; for Governor there were 190 Democratic to 285 Republican votes. There was some reluctance among the Dutch to abandon the Democratic party for eighty Hollanders cast votes for the independent candidate.[174] It is apparent that these were cast by people, who were dissatisfied with the Democratic party but who could not sympathize with the radical abolitionists in the Republican ranks. The *Hollander* championed the cause of Douglas,[175] and its efforts were successful enough to give the Democrats a very narrow victory. The majority in Holland for Douglas was only twenty-three and at Zeeland only four.[176] Undoubtedly the moral issue in regard to slavery, of which G. M. Groesbeek made so much in *De Nieuwsbode*, touched a responsive chord in the hearts of many Hollanders.[177] But when it came to casting a deliberate vote in favor of the new party, many hesitated and preferred to remain Democratic or vote an independent ticket. Scholte's views were marked more than those of others by a clarity of vision which reveals him as a man of insight. "Either slavery or liberty", he said, "must be limited; this is the chief problem which the people of the United States must decide in November."[178] But while his example may have given courage to Republicans, his views could not evoke the popular support which was given to the moral plea of Groesbeek. Even in Pella the

is obliged to the Reverend Henry Beets of Grand Rapids, Michigan, for permission to use it.

[174] *The Grand Rapids Daily Enquirer*, November 8, 1860.

[175] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 5, 1860, quoting *De Hollander* of August 1, 1860.

[176] *The Grand Rapids Enquirer*, November 9, 1860.

[177] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 5, 1860.

[178] *De Nieuwsbode*, October 31, 1860.

majority still stubbornly adhered to the Democratic position and were suspicious of the abolitionist elements in the new party.[179] In Wisconsin the Dutch in Holland Township, in Sheboygan County, were overwhelmingly Republican, casting 242 votes for Lincoln and 63 votes for Douglas.[180] There was a similar desertion from the Democratic ranks in Illinois at Galena, Ainsworth, Chicago, and elsewhere.[181]

Thus in the election of 1860 the Hollanders as a whole were manifestly loath to forsake the Democratic party with which as immigrants they had first identified themselves. Their repugnance to slavery was universal, yet few at first could be led to break with the party on the ground that the institution was immoral. The religious humanitarian impulse was strong among the immigrants — the emigration movement itself had been initiated by Scholte, Van Raalte, and others partly to relieve the difficulties among the poor. In fact the revival of Calvinistic conceptions, known in The Netherlands as the *Reveil*, was accompanied by many manifestations of a philanthropic nature. Of this the benevolent O. G. Heldring, the friend of Van Raalte, Brummelkamp, and others, is a clear example. Among the more pietistic and emotional immigrants the arguments of the abolitionists naturally found an early foothold. As the failures of the Democrats became more patent, and the crisis before the country became more evident, these ideas, gradually won greater support. But the growth of Republican sentiment was only gradual because opposed to it was the general horror and distrust of abolitionism.

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Seattle Washington

[179] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis van Pella*, Vol. I, p. 37.

[180] *De Nieuwsbode*, November 21, 1860.

[181] *De Nieuwsbode*, September 26, October 24, 1860.

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PRODUCTION OF BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA

[This is the second installment of an article on the economic history of beef cattle production in Iowa, by John A. Hopkins, Jr. The article will be concluded in the July number.— THE EDITOR]

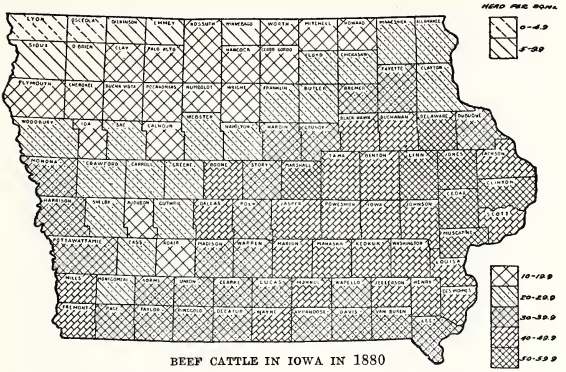
INCREASE IN NUMBER OF CATTLE IN THE LATTER PART OF THE CENTURY

Between 1860 and 1870 the number of cattle in the State had more than doubled. Between 1870 and 1880 it nearly trebled and the number per 100 of rural population increased from 59 to 127. Between 1880 and 1890 the number again nearly trebled, while the number per 100 of rural population increased from 127 to 225. The number of cattle other than milk cows in Iowa in 1870 was 614,366. In 1880 it was 1,755,343 and in 1890 it was 3,394,765.[86]

The density of the cattle population was changing with the change in density of human population. In 1870 the area of greatest cattle density was east of a line drawn from Monroe to Delaware County. This area averaged about twenty-five cattle per square mile. In 1880 the southeastern part of the State was still the one of greatest density as far west as a line from Mills County, in the southwestern corner of the State to Buchanan in the northeastern section. But the density was much more uniform in this area than previously, except for Cass, Adair, and Montgomery counties which were still quite thinly settled. As far west as a line from Woodbury County in the western part of the State to Winneshiek in the northeastern corner, the density was as great as in the densest area a decade before.

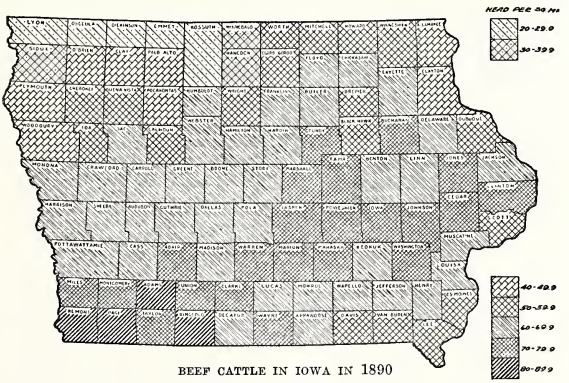
[86] Census reports from 1860 to 1890 inclusive. The maps in this chapter are drawn from data found in the census reports from 1840 to 1920.

In 1890 there were four belts of varying grades of cattle density. In the section of the State east of a line from



BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA IN 1880

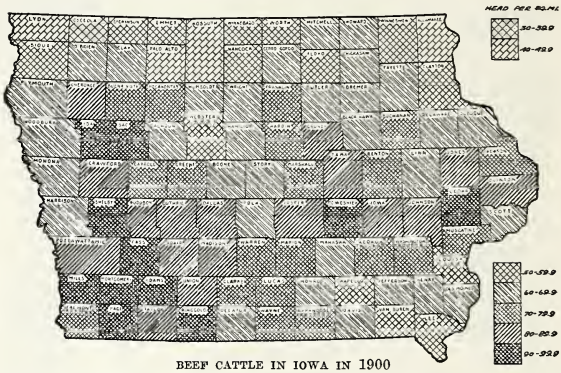
Decatur to Scott County there were not more than sixty cattle per square mile. West of this and east of a line from



BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA IN 1890

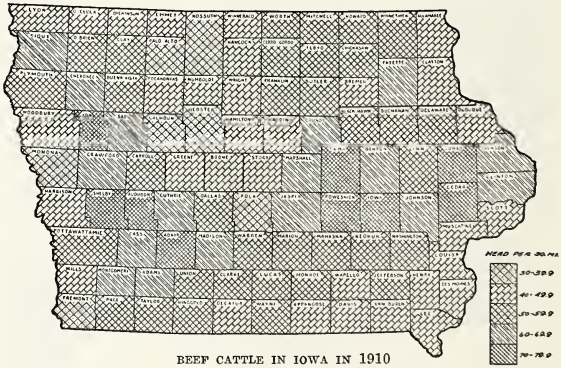
Fremont to Buchanan County there was a density of from sixty to ninety per mile. To the northwest there was a belt

extending to the line established by Monona and Floyd counties, in which the density approximated sixty or sixty-



BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA IN 1900

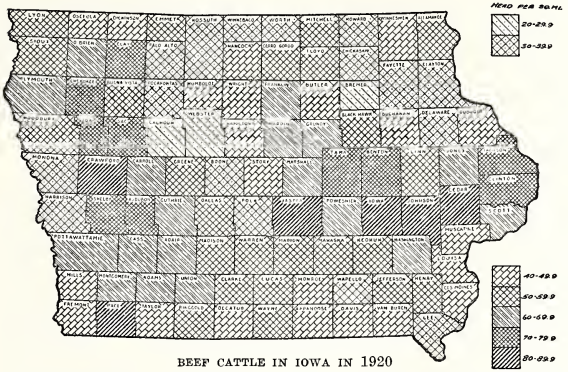
five; and finally in the northwestern corner of the State, there was a density of from twenty to fifty per square mile.



BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA IN 1910

The southeastern corner of the State now began to show that it did not have a carrying capacity for cattle as great

as the central part. After the central part of the State was passed, the density of the cattle population began to shade off to the north and west as one approached the more sparsely settled sections.



BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA IN 1920

In 1900 the density of cattle had increased most in an area parallel to the Missouri River and two tiers of counties to the east. The area which had the greatest density in 1890 continued to contain more cattle than the areas on either side. A crescent shaped section in the eastern part of the State from Grundy County through Poweshiek and Johnson to Clinton County had also increased considerably in density, though not to the same extent as the western section.

In 1910 the census showed no marked change in relative density from 1900. The absolute density as given by the census of 1910 was considerably less than that of 1900. This, however, is largely due to the fact that the census of 1910 was taken as of April 15th, while that of 1900 was taken as of June 1st. Had the 1910 census been taken as of June 1st, it would have shown a much greater density than

it did. Both the census of 1900 and that of 1910 was taken too late in the season to show many of the feeding cattle,[87] which are mostly sold during the winter and early spring months. The census for these reasons is not very satisfactory either in measuring the volume of cattle production or in comparing the relative importance of the enterprise in different parts of the State. The data of the Department of Agriculture is likewise unsatisfactory, especially in the earlier years. It is necessary to use the two together, and to interpret each in the light of any other available data.

BREEDING FOR BABY BEEF

In the breeding of cattle the interest after the beginning of the century was largely in developing beef cattle which would mature and could be fattened at as early an age as possible. This was largely in response to the demand of the market for smaller cattle with as good or a better finish than previously.[88] The need for cattle which would make more efficient use of feed, and the results of feeding experiments which showed the advantage in feeding young stock was also of influence here. This problem had been before the breeders for some years before 1900, and considerable progress had been made. In 1900 C. E. Leonard, President of the American Shorthorn Association, said regarding early maturity of the Shorthorns:[89] "such progress has

[87] In the *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, 1910, Vol. V, pp. 526, 527, the value of cattle and calves sold or butchered in Iowa is given as $92,862,139 and of hogs sold or butchered as $93,802,016.

[88] "A characteristic feature of the (cattle) trade for the entire year was that medium weight cattle of good finish were always preferred and generally brought a higher price than the heavier kinds. Another feature was that high grade steers invariably brought a good round premium over the price paid for animals without breeding."—*The Iowa Homestead*, January 10, 1901.

[89] From an address before the American Shorthorn Breeders Association in Chicago, December 5, 1900, in *The Iowa Homestead*, January 3, 1901.

been made in this respect that up to date Shorthorns are as well matured at two years as formerly at three."

The improvement in the grade cattle had been even more marked than in the purebreds according to all reports. Of course the grades depended on the purebreds for their improvement. But the use of purebred sires had increased a great deal, and with the passing of the open prairie the inducement to improvement, as well as the possibility of improvement had also increased. The scrub cattle, which as the Irish settler said, "were pretty old for their size", were passing out of fashion and out of existence.

The possibility of breeding cattle which would be good for both purposes, dairy and beef, was again brought forward as a possible solution of one of the farmers' hardest problems. The price of feeds was rising. The margin between the price of feeder cattle and that of fat cattle was apparently becoming smaller. The ordinary cattle of the State were fairly good as beef, but poor as milk producers. If a breed or a strain could be developed which would fill both purposes satisfactorily, it would greatly reduce the cost of calves since there would be another product of the breeding herd besides the calves to help bear the expense of maintenance.

The dual purpose question had been discussed before, but the first six or eight years of the century saw it reopened and thoroughly aired in various papers, and at farmers' meetings. One group pointed out the necessity of milking the dams of the beef calves if the farmer was to make both ends meet. Another group showed that inferior beef was produced by good dairy cattle. More or less of an agreement was reached that it seemed impossible to produce a breed which would excel in two purposes as widely divergent as the production of the best beef and of large quantities of milk. But it was also agreed that the milking of

the beef cows as much as possible was by all means to be desired as a way of reducing the cost of beef production.

THE PUREBRED BOOM OF 1918-1919

The number of beef cattle in Iowa in 1914 was approximately 2,555,000. By 1918 it had grown to 2,919,000. In 1919 there was a slight falling off, followed by a renewed growth to 3,474,000 in January, 1920. There was no great change in the location of the areas of greater cattle density in the decade from 1910 to 1920.

The improvement in the breeding of cattle in the State continued. By 1914, there were few farmers who did not own a purebred bull if not a few purebred cows in addition. With the increasing profitableness in the production of beef when prices began to rise in 1915, there was awakened a greater interest in purebred stock.[90] Men who were induced by the profits of cattle raising to go into the business, furnished a larger outlet for the product of purebred producers, and gave impetus to the boom.

The prices of purebred stock were already such as to be lucrative to the producers.[91] In 1917 and 1918 purebred prices moved upward at an even greater rate than the prices of fat cattle. The boom reached its peak in the fall of 1919. While it lasted there was heavy and often indiscriminate

[90] "There are many indications of a revived interest in livestock husbandry. Among other things may be noted the brisk demand that exists for pure-bred live stock as indicated by the prices paid for the good cattle of all breeds during the last six weeks or two months. The interest does not center wholly in the pure-breds, because many inquiries have been received by this paper from subscribers who are changing from grain farming to live stock raising, their aim being to convert their grain and roughage into animal flesh and market it in that form."— *The Iowa Homestead*, July 8, 1915.

[91] "It has been very apparent for three or four years that of the two leading parties in the making of a steer, the breeder and the finisher, the breeder is the one who got the lion's share of the profit."— *The Iowa Homestead*, November 18, 1915.

buying, partly by other breeders and partly by farmers. The reputations of the breeders counted often for as much or more in determining prices than did the conformation of the animals sold.[92]

With the beginning of the decline in the prices of cattle in the markets, the purebred craze came to an abrupt end. The legitimate producer of purebred stock, who had confined his activities to the selling of the stock he produced was not seriously injured. But the speculator who had bought recklessly, thinking he could sell at still higher prices, was seriously hurt.[93] Prices tumbled and purebred speculators tumbled with them. There was again a problem of finding out what purebred cattle were worth as sires and dams of *beef* rather than of *pedigrees.*

V

THE GRAZING INDUSTRY IN IOWA

The first settlers of Iowa found a great area of fertile land waiting for them. Nature had been prodigal in stor-

[92] "The insistent demand for beef, both at home and in foreign countries, is being daily reflected at the auction sales of pure-bred cattle throughout the grain-belt states. Price records are being established one day only to be surpassed the next. There seems to be almost no limit to the prices breeders are willing to pay for choice animals of the right breeding."— *The Iowa Homestead,* May 29, 1919.

A successful breeder in Iowa expressed disappointmeut at the lack of discrimination shown during the boom. He had seen a bull calf sold at a sale, by a widely known breeder, for $15,000 but believed that as good calves, and with as good pedigrees had been sold by breeders who were not widely known for $500.

[93] "The spectacular pure-bred prices of last year are now a matter of history. Values have declined from 50 to 75 per cent and in some instances more. . . .

"The breeder of pure-bred cattle who has not allowed himself to speculate during the last few years is not afraid of the future. He is still making money and will continue prosperous. His business is on a sound basis, not so lucrative as it has been in the last two years or so, but nevertheless very

ing up food for plants in the soil here, and in converting it into feed for animals. Early settlers were filled with awe at the sight of the virgin prairie, covered with tall, thick grass as far as the eye could see.

The land in early Iowa could be secured at a low price. Labor, on the other hand, was scarce and high for few men would work long for others when they could easily secure land for themselves. Capital was also scarce, and if it was borrowed, the rate of interest was very high. Land alone was cheap. Therefore, the more land and the less labor and capital the farmer could use in early Iowa, the better off he was in comparison with producers in the older sections of the country where labor and capital were cheaper, but where land values were higher. Under these conditions the growing of crops as the principal enterprise in Iowa was for the time being out of the question. Live stock, which could be grazed and raised mostly on the feed of the prairies, brought the largest returns for the labor and capital expended.

Of the kinds of live stock which could be raised, cattle were by far the most satisfactory. Except where oak woods with plenty of mast were abundant hogs were not satisfactory. They could not be raised on prairie grass, but needed more concentrated and less bulky feed. Sheep were not satisfactory because there were animals such as wolves to prey on them. Cattle, on the other hand, needed just such bulky food as the prairie grass, and they were large enough to take care of themselves.

Not only is the labor required to care for a herd of cattle probably the smallest per acre of land of any form of agricultural production, but the amount of capital invested in

profitable. It is the man who was carried off his feet by high prices and who thought there was no limit to what men would pay and, therefore, who bought freely at sky-high prices, confident that he could resell at still higher figures, who is hurt by present declines."— *The Iowa Homestead*, December 2, 1920.

cattle, under grazing conditions, is also one of the smallest per acre. This was especially true on the frontier where cattle were cheaper than in the older settled regions. Therefore, the grazing of cattle filled the need for a productive enterprise to fit the peculiar conditions of the frontier.

The principal product of the early settler, before the building of railroads into Iowa, also had to be one which could easily be transported to market. The markets for the agricultural frontier were far to the east, and facilities for transportation were lacking. Grains, such as corn or wheat, were impossible as market crops, except within short distances of the rivers down which they could be shipped to St. Louis. Cattle were not only a saleable commodity of high specific value, but they could actually provide their own means of transportation. Their legs could carry them to market.

The principal difficulty which the settler in Iowa faced for some time was that he did not have sufficient capital to keep as large a herd as the land would support. Most settlers, therefore, were forced for a time into less profitable enterprises, and raised a few acres of crops, most of which they fed to hogs or cattle.[94]

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GRAZING INDUSTRY IN IOWA

There were various ways in which the open prairie lands of Iowa were used for grazing. These depended on local conditions, on the wealth of the settler, on the number of cattle in the neighborhood, and on the stage of development which the section had attained. The principal methods may be grouped into four approximate divisions, and other systems considered as combinations or modifications of these. These are: (1) the grazing of the few cattle belonging to

[94] Much of the data for this chapter was obtained from interviews with old settlers in various parts of Iowa.

new settlers who as yet had not been able to build up a herd, (2) the grazing of large herds in the neighborhood in which the owners of the cattle lived, (3) the herding of cattle throughout the season beyond the denser settlements and at a distance from the farms of their owners, and (4) the grazing of herds which were in transit to markets from sections of the country farther west or south.

As has already been stated, the settlers at first had very few cattle because they were not rich enough to own more. A settler's live stock usually consisted of a yoke of oxen and two or three cows to furnish milk for the family. There were, of course, some who had more live stock, but they were the exception rather than the rule during the early pioneer period in Iowa.

A few early settlers, in order to provide grazing for their cattle and save the trouble of looking for them every day, built fences around enough land to provide pasture. But this was seldom done on the frontier. Usually the cattle were turned loose on the prairie. They were sometimes tended by boys who were not old enough to do much work around the farm. Since considerable time and effort were required to build a fence, and the time of the boys cost nothing, this method of tending the cattle was less expensive. Many settlers instead of having their cattle watched, especially if they had no small boys to do this work, simply turned them loose in the hope that they would not stray far, and hunted them up each evening to milk. As long as there was good pasture, the cattle seldom wandered away, although once in a while some of them would start off and would cause their owner a hunt of several miles before he found them. Along rivers, and where there was timber or rough land, cattle which were not in the milking herd were often turned out in the spring and seldom seen again until their owners hunted them in the fall. But the farmer usual-

ly tried to look them up once in a while to be sure they had not strayed away too far, and to give them salt.[95]

Larger herds also were sometimes turned loose on the prairie. In Delaware County, in 1867-1868, according to a man who settled there at the time, there was an area of open prairie for fifteen miles to the west of his place. On this he pastured his cattle which at one time numbered between three and four hundred head. These cattle got very little attention during the day, but were rounded up and corralled at night.[96]

The second method of utilizing the prairie pasture was by the coöperative herding of cattle near the homes of their owners. These herds were made up by each settler contributing a few head of cattle. As settlements grew, the wandering of cattle into the crops, which were usually unfenced, became a serious menace and a cause of much damage. The hiring of a man to watch the cattle of a large number of settlers was a cheap method of protecting the crops, and of avoiding trouble with the neighbors. In some sections all the cattle were put into the herd, which was collected in the morning and returned at night to be milked. This was particularly true of the herds belonging to the inhabitants of small towns and villages. In the country the farms were usually so far apart that it would have been impossible to collect and return the cattle each day.

The herds made up by farmers usually included the dry stock only. They were usually collected in the spring by the herder, who got from one to two dollars per head per season, and were driven to an unoccupied section of land in the neighborhood. Here they were kept until fall. The herder usually had a corral near his shack, into which he drove the cattle at night to prevent their straying off.

[95] Interview with an old settler at Agency.

[96] Interview with an old settler at Manchester.

When the land in a community was all taken up, it became impossible to herd there any longer, and the men with large numbers of cattle found themselves with insufficient pasture. For a few years after this condition arose in each section of the State, there usually remained unused prairie land within short distances to the west or north. The cost of herding was so low in proportion to the value of the cattle, and so much cheaper than keeping them on land in the settled sections, that the older settlers continued to send out herds as long as cheap or free pasture land could be reached. These herds were collected in the spring and driven beyond the denser settled districts to open prairie. The methods of caring for them were much the same as described above. They varied in size from a little over a hundred to as high as fifteen hundred, the highest number reported to the writer.

The cattle in these herds, as well as others in early Iowa communities, were identified by means of brands or ear marks. Nevertheless, there was some loss by stealing. This practice was likely to develop in any part of the State. In some sections it caused an early decline of herding, but this was not often the case.[97]

The pastures of Iowa were also used for short periods by cattle which were being driven to Chicago or other markets to the east. From the end of the Civil War until after 1870 there were herds of cattle on the way to market from Texas which were driven into Iowa, usually into the southern and south-western counties. They often came into the State in the spring or early summer and were kept there until fall, in order to put on more weight before being driven to Ottumwa, or other shipping points.[98] This practice stopped about 1870 or very shortly thereafter. By this time the rail-

[97] Interview with an old settler at Jefferson.

[98] Interviews with J. B. Harsh of Creston and T. D. Ashby of Lucas.

roads reached entirely across the State and the prairie in the southern part was mostly taken up so that there was little opportunity for herds from other sections to find pasture there.

CHRONOLOGICAL SKETCH

The southeastern part of the State was quickly settled, and by the late fifties or early sixties herding had been driven out of this section by the density of settlement. Indeed, herding in this region never reached the development later so common in the western counties. The settlers in this section came mostly from densely settled States in the East; they did not spread out over the prairies as did later settlers, did not have many cattle, and did not make up herds to drive into the open prairie. Most of the cattle in the southeastern counties were kept near their owner's farm, and were watched by boys, or were kept in fenced inclosures.

In the south central part of the State, usually a period of three or four years elapsed after a newcomer settled before he had enough cattle to contribute to a herd. Often, too, it was three or four years before he had any neighbors. Consequently he was concerned only about his own cornfield and his own cattle. If he was fortunate in having some children, and pioneer families were usually large, the problem of keeping the cows and the corn apart was easily solved. As other settlers moved into this region, and cattle became more numerous, there arose a need for herding the cattle, or restraining them in some other way. In Wapello County there was herding during the later fifties, but it stopped because of settlement of the prairies about 1858.[99] In Jasper County there were enough cattle for herding to start between 1860 and 1862. Here settlement was slower

[99] Interview with R. W. Moore of Cedar.

and there were herds as late as 1870.[100] In Delaware County, to the east and north of Jasper, there was unused land in the late sixties, and cattle ran loose on it as mentioned above. In 1868 there was a large influx of settlers who took up most of the open prairie. As new settlers moved into a region land values rose sharply. For example, in 1867, a settler in Delaware County bought a section of land for $6.25 per acre. With the increase in settlement, the price of land increased so rapidly that he was able to sell the section a year later at $25.00 per acre.[101]

The custom of herding developed along the outskirts of the more thickly settled eastern counties. News items to this effect occur frequently in the local newspapers of the time.[102] The disadvantage, even to the owner, of turning cattle loose on the prairie was becoming obvious. A writer in *The Iowa Homestead* in 1872 said, "stock can be herded anywhere in the state, by good, reliable herdsmen, at a cost not to exceed $2.00 per head for the season. In such case they can be salted and cared for, and be subject to the inspection of the owner at any time; while if turned loose, on the prairie, the time spent in hunting, together with the loss by straying, would amount to more than two dollars per head. . . . This is now becoming the practice in many counties where farmers have not range left in the vicinity of their homes." [103]

[100] Interview with M. A. McCord of Newton.

[101] Interview with an old settler at Manchester.

[102] The following item from the *Adair County Register* for October 5, 1867, is typical. "The citizens of this township met last Friday evening and organized a herd company; nearly all the cattle owners in the town going into it. A boy is employed to take charge of them who will take them away at seven o'clock in the morning and return them at sundown. Quite a large herd was made up at the meeting and others can be put in at any time. With the number already made up the expense will be light on each one."

[103] *The Iowa Homestead,* February 9, 1872.

In Black Hawk County, west of Delaware County, there were a few herds in the sixties. In the seventies, herding stopped in Black Hawk County, and herds were driven from the neighborhood of Cedar Falls to Cerro Gordo and Kossuth counties for summer pasturing.[104] At the same time, between 1875 and 1880, the transition from the practice of keeping herds in the home neighborhood to that of driving them to newer sections was in progress in Lucas County in the southern part of the State and farther west along the Mormon Trail and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. The same practice occurred about five years later, or between 1880 and 1885, in the territory westward, including Mitchell, Franklin, Dallas, Cass, and Pottawattamie counties. In the interim herds from counties immediately east of this area were being driven into it for summer herding.[105] This was a district that was rather rapidly taken up, and the herding of cattle raised in it lasted only five or six years in most cases. After this for a few years, herds were driven to the west and north for pasture. Each section of the State that had not yet been settled remained for a time a grazing ground for the settled regions just to the east.

By 1885 practically all of the State which was not in homesteads was being grazed to some extent, and persons who wished to establish new herds were likely to find themselves competing rather strongly with herds already established. There were herds of several hundred built up in some sections by this time by men who started out with a very few head a dozen years before. But they realized that the herding business in Iowa would not be a permanent one.

[104] Interviews with C. A. Round of Cedar Falls; Nathan Northy of Waterloo, and with an old settler at Cedar Falls.

[105] Interviews with D. W. Mott of Hampton, Tom Foster of Clarinda, H. W. Fulton of Atlantic, and with old settlers at Adel and Dallas Center.

The infiltration of settlers into all parts of the State prevented the belief that herding would last many years, and the owners of the herds did not attempt to establish themselves on a permanent basis. It was realized that an increase of settlement and the extension of railroads into the still unsettled parts of Iowa would change conditions, and that the land would no longer be available for herds.

By 1873 there was little open prairie east of the Des Moines River. By 1880 there was only a herd left here and there in the three southern tiers of counties, in the small areas which were rough topographically, or undesirable for some other reason. These provided pasture for several years after the more desirable land was taken up. In 1880 cattle were being driven to pastures to the west and north of Fremont, Cass, and Dallas counties. Until about 1885 herds from Black Hawk County were being driven to Cerro Gordo, Kossuth, and Hancock counties.[106] From Cass County they were being driven into Shelby and Audubon counties,[107] and from Page into Audubon and Shelby, and also into nearby counties in Missouri.[108]

These herds usually numbered from one to two hundred head, though sometimes they were much larger. They were made up in the spring as soon as there was pasture, and were driven to a location where there was good grass and water and not too far from the home neighborhood. The herder lived in a shack near the grazing ground. He tended the cattle during the day, riding horseback to get over the ground faster and with less effort. At night he usually drove the stock into a corral near the shack in order to avoid their straying off or stampeding.

[106] Interviews with E. H. Mallory of Hampton, and Frank B. Miller of Cedar Falls.

[107] Interview with H. M. Fulton of Atlantic.

[108] Interview with John Farquhar of Coin.

There were a few herds which belonged entirely to one man. These were more numerous in the western part of the State, where there was more time for the herding business to develop. This type of herd showed that Iowa was beginning to develop a range industry of its own. The development did not go far, however, for it was generally recognized that the pasture lands of Iowa would soon be taken by settlers.

In the northwestern part of the State herding lasted longer than in the older sections, and became more of an established industry. Until about 1890, cattle were being driven from Green County into Calhoun County for grazing from about the first of April to the first of October. In Calhoun County some herds contained as many as eight hundred head.[109] In the section along the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad through Green, Carroll, and Crawford counties, and in the region farther north along the Illinois Central Railroad, herding seems to have come to an end between 1882 and 1885. In the more thinly settled sections between the railroads it lasted three or four years longer.

The herders often owned some of the cattle they tended. There was a real opportunity for them in the business and sometimes they used it to good effect. In 1879 Robison Baxter bought up a hundred calves in and around Delaware County in the eastern part of the State. He drove these calves to Ida County, where, with the assistance of one other man, he tended a large drove of cattle collected from the farmers of that section. At one time he was herding nearly fifteen hundred head. The calves were kept at very little expense until they were four years old. They were then sold, during the period of high cattle prices in 1882, at $6.50 per cwt., bringing nearly $100.00 per head.[110]

[109] Interview with an old settler at Jefferson.

[110] Interview with Robison Baxter of Ida Grove.

In addition to herding there was some fencing of large pastures in these areas, the pastures ranging in size from less than a section to as many as six sections.[111] But usually when fencing began herding stopped.

The process of pushing the herds farther and farther to the northwest continued. By 1885 herds had disappeared from Greene, Crawford, Ida, and the counties to the east and south. From these counties cattle were being driven into Clay, Sioux, and other counties in the northwestern part of the State. Shortly after 1885 herds disappeared from these counties and were to be found in the counties in the northern tier, and in the western part of the State. Some cattle in the late eighties were being driven beyond the limits of Iowa into Minnesota. Some men took their herds west into South Dakota or Nebraska to settle again in range country as the practice of herding came to an end in Iowa.[112]

In its migration across the State, the grazing business developed a number of characteristics which made it similar in some respects to the corresponding industry found earlier in the States to the east, and likewise to the range industry which was developing in the country to the west. It is hard to tell just what practices were transplanted from sections in Illinois where the same sort of conditions existed prior to its development in Iowa. While there were a great many settlers in Iowa who came from Illinois, they did not necessarily come from sections in which cattle herding was, or had recently been, in progress.

Most of the practices were such as might have grown up within the State. The easiest and simplest way of caring for the cattle under the circumstances was nearly always the one used. Many of the methods resembled those of the

[111] Interview with Nathan Northy of Waterloo.

[112] Interview with an old settler at Rock Rapids.

eastern part of the country more than any which developed in the range country to the west. It was in fact a condition more nearly similar to that of the early days in the northeastern States, where there were community herds, than in the west where the herds belonged to a few large owners. The cattle in Iowa, after they became numerous, were not turned loose to shift for themselves. Because of the settlers' crops, and because each man who contributed to a community herd in Iowa had only a few cattle and could not afford to lose any of them, it was necessary to keep a man with each herd so that each animal might be looked after. Even the large herds which belonged to individuals could not be turned loose because of damage they would have done to crops, and because no system of rounding up strayed cattle was developed in Iowa. It is quite possible that some of the methods which were used by Iowa cattle owners, such as branding for identification, may have been introduced into the State from the south and west more than from the east. Although the practice of branding was in use in the Carolinas nearly a century before, it is noteworthy that its use was much more often reported in the districts of southern Iowa than in eastern Iowa. It is likely that it was introduced from Missouri more than from Illinois. Cattle raising developed on an extensive scale in Missouri earlier than in Iowa, and the Missouri industry seems to have been more nearly a lineal descendant of the industry of the Carolinas than was that of Iowa. In Illinois the industry was more nearly on a farm than a range basis. But there were settlers in Iowa from nearly every section of the country, and the interchange of ideas was carried on freely. It is likely that each settler brought with him some ideas from his own section, and that these were modified and blended into the existing customs, thus giving rise to a body of practices not entirely like any other.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN HERDING AND CROPPING

In earlier chapters it was pointed out that the herds furnished feeder cattle for the corn growers in the more thickly settled sections of the State. Of course, the cattle in many of the herds belonged to these same farmers, and were with the herds because this was a cheaper way to keep them during the summer. Cattle from other herds were also sold to the corn raisers. But there were large numbers, too, which were sent to market directly in a grass fat condition.

Feeding the cattle from the herds on grain was particularly profitable because of the very low value of corn during this period. Grazing and feeding were combined only by the small farmers who had cattle in the community herds. The big herders often did not grow corn because they did not have enough capital or labor to provide it for their large herds. As long as they could secure the use of land for little or no cost, there was no reason why the herders should spend their time growing low priced corn on a few acres when they could raise higher priced cattle on a much larger area. But when the land became scarce and labor more abundant, the people were forced to apply more intensive methods of production, and to produce more per acre even if it amounted to less per man. This meant a complete change in the system of production.

The struggle between the two systems of production as the more extensive one was pushed westward took on various forms in different parts of the State. In the eastern sections the transition was not attended by any particular struggle. The settlers could afford to pay more for the land for raising crops than could the herders for grazing, and there was plenty of other land for the herds. The herders often took up homesteads, or bought the land on which they lived, but did not buy land for the herds.

The laws passed in the seventies compelling the restraining of live stock forced a closer watch on the cattle and to some extent put the herders at a disadvantage. Furthermore, the practice of fencing, as it grew, prevented the use of many vacant fields which herds had been using before. Under these conditions, with the settlers putting the responsibility on the herders of keeping their cattle out of the crops, the business came to have more and more unpleasant features as time passed.

The settlers were in the habit of planting crops with very little protection in the way of fences. Consequently, if a nearby herder was careless in letting his cattle wander over the neighborhood he very soon found a strained relationship between him and his neighbors. The settlers were also in the habit of cutting prairie hay for their stock wherever they found it growing most abundantly. If the cattle of the herders wandered into the wild hay which a settler intended to use for his winter's roughage, trouble usually followed. As the settlers grew in numbers and the land available for grazing became exhausted, the herder was forced to move farther west. During the last year or two of grazing in the western part of the State the struggle between the adherents of the two types of agriculture became very unpleasant.

In Pottawattamie County, in the late seventies and early eighties, there were herds of cattle which belonged to large cattle owners who lived in the southwestern part of the State. Settlers had by this time taken the larger part of the land. The herds, which were watched by hired men, ranged over the unenclosed wild hay of the settlers, trampling it down and eating it. Occasionally there was some damage done to crops. Some settlers, it is reported, attempted to stampede the herds. Meetings were held by the settlers to devise means of getting the herds out of the

section. The herders on the other hand had no place to go with their cattle. All the other land around them was now in the same stage of settlement. The Missouri River was to the west, and across it eastern Nebraska was rapidly filling up. Hostile encounters occurred between committees of settlers and the herders. In a few of these, parties of the two factions met with firearms ready to do battle. Fortunately, the encounters never seem to have gone beyond verbal tilts. The herders were warned to take their herds out of the county, and being greatly outnumbered by the settlers, they complied after much protest.[113] In most localities, however, the herders retired without such a show of resistance.

The disappearance of the herds was followed by the growing of more crops and the feeding of cattle which were either raised in the community, or were brought from herds to the north, or from west of the river.

VI

THE PLACE OF BEEF CATTLE IN THE FARM BUSINESS

The beef cattle enterprise can not be considered separate from all others. Beef cattle are not kept solely for the purpose of producing marketable live stock, but also for making use of what would otherwise be waste roughage, for converting grain into a product which can be taken to market at a smaller charge for freight than if it were shipped as grain, for utilizing labor at slack times of the farm year, for contributing manure to keep up the fertility of the soil, and in various other ways to help in the organization of a well rounded farm business, so that the farmer may get the greatest possible return from the resources which he has at hand. The place of beef cattle

[113] Interview with an old settler at McClelland.

on the farm has changed from time to time with the economic status of agriculture in each part of the country. It is the purpose of this chapter to trace in a broad and general way the evolution of the beef enterprise in its relationship to the organization of the farm business.

CATTLE AMONG THE SETTLERS

As has been mentioned previously, the settlers, when they first came to Iowa, seldom had more cattle than a few head of cows and a yoke of oxen. The cows were of the low grade general purpose type, and one of their important functions was to supply milk for the settler's family. The first cattle were commonly turned loose to shift for themselves for a great part of the time, or were watched as they grazed on the prairie by the settlers' children. As their number increased their function as beef producers became more important, and they were given a greater proportion of the settlers' attention.

As described in the *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society* for 1866 the method of caring for the cattle was a very simple one. It consisted in giving them the run of the prairie in the summer, with salt once a week. In the winter they were given the run of the cornfields when the ground was frozen. When it was not frozen they were kept in the barnyards and fed mostly on prairie hay.

The principal feed at first was prairie grass. Later as the number of cattle increased it was found that the prairie grass, or "blue stem" did not stand heavy pasturing, but died out where it had been closely cropped and trampled. It was also killed by frost earlier than the blue grass which was beginning to appear in the older parts of the State.

The blue grass came in very slowly and for the most part without being introduced consciously by the settlers. It was very seldom planted in pastures, although some seed

was brought from Kentucky to be scattered in places where the prairie grass had been trampled out.[114] There were also some lawns planted in blue grass, and it naturally spread from them to the prairies. Except for these methods of propagation it seems to have been introduced mostly by accident, the seed clinging to the settlers' effects or in the coats of animals. By 1870 it had appeared only in small patches in the eastern and southern tiers of counties.[115]

Shortly after settlements had been made, timothy was planted in most sections to take the place of wild hay and to provide a better forage and a larger yield per acre. Timothy was the first crop to be planted for hay in almost all parts of the State. In Wapello County it came into use about 1855.[116] Farther west and south in Lucas County timothy and Hungarian grass were planted about 1858 or 1859.[117] In 1861 a settler from near Chariton took some Hungarian grass seed into newly settled territory in Missouri for sale, showing that this crop had been raised for at least one or two years. The planting of timothy spread very rapidly. In 1857, it was said, there was only one man in Poweshiek County who was growing timothy, and he had only about ten acres of it. Within two or three years it was being grown as far west as Lucas County.

Both in yield per acre and quality of feed, clover is much superior to timothy, but it was seldom planted in the parts of the State first settled until eight or ten years after timothy had been introduced. Inoculation of the soil was necessary before good crops of clover could be grown, although that was not known at the time. Repeated efforts

[114] Interview with R. M. Moore of Cedar.

[115] Interview with C. J. Cain of Chariton, and with an old settler at Leon.

[116] Interview with R. M. Moore of Cedar.

[117] Interview with C. J. Cain of Chariton.

to raise clover were necessary before the soil was sufficiently inoculated. Timothy, which needed no inoculation and was well adapted to the soil, provided good crops from the very first. This explains the lead which timothy obtained over clover in the early years. In *The Prairie Farmer,* David Sears, of Jackson County, reported that he planted ten acres of clover in 1853, and spoke as though clover was well established in his section by 1865. In Decatur County a few patches of clover were planted about 1860, but it was not well established there for nearly a decade.[118]

During the period of settlement the cattle of Iowa had very little shelter in cold or inclement weather. By 1860 a few barns had been built by settlers who came from older parts of the country where there was a barn on every farm,[119] but for the most part the cattle had only such shelter as they could find in groves or under a "straw shed", which was composed of rails laid across the tops of posts and covered with straw or slough grass.[120]

Up to about 1870 in the southeastern part of the State, and to a later time, even to 1890 in the northwestern part, the production of beef was fundamentally a matter of pasturage. In the frontier communities the amount of grain fed was relatively unimportant.[121] Among the earlier settlers a large part of the corn was cut and shocked. This practice involved more labor than picking,[122] but it also

[118] Interview with an old settler at Leon.

[119] Interviews with H. C. Weir of Mt. Pleasant, and R. M. Moore of Cedar.

[120] "Many are not sheltered, others have grass covered shanties to go into during stormy weather. Small and large frequently run in corn-stalk fields with attention of salt, perhaps once a week."—*The Iowa Homestead,* August 13, 1869.

[121] Interview with H. C. Weir of Mt. Pleasant.

[122] Husking the ear from the stalk as it stood in the field.

provided roughage for the winter. The practice probably owed its origin to the same custom in older parts of the country from which the settlers came. The corn was commonly fed to the cattle in the fodder which was thrown on the ground in the feed lot. In the seventies and eighties the use of snapped corn (ear corn with the husk on it) came into use and the use of corn in the fodder declined somewhat.

It was not until late in the period of settlement that there were railroads near any of the new sections. Corn was worth practically nothing until after it was turned into beef or pork.[123] In Iowa, therefore, as in early Ohio, cattle and hogs were used as a means of transporting corn. Once in the form of beef the corn or other crop became well worth taking to market.[124] The early methods of feeding were very simple and seemed intended only to get as much corn into a steer as possible.[125] Only in a few sections was there any other way to dispose of the corn at a profit. In the late fifties and sixties some farmers along the Mormon Trail, or other main routes of travel for westbound immigrants,

[123] A correspondent in Adair County wrote as follows: "The Farmers are turning their attention to stock raising, in fact nothing else can be done to an advantage, as we have nothing but a home market for our grain."—*Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1859, p. 166.

[124] Daniel McCready, a farmer near Fort Madison, Iowa, wrote as follows: "*Neat cattle.*—Cost of rearing until three years old, $7; usual price at that age, from $10 to $15. Cows sell in the spring from $16 to $20; in the fall, from $14 to $18. As to the pounds of beef one hundred pounds of corn will produce, I think from about eight to ten pounds would be near the amount." —*Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1852*, Part II, p. 336.

[125] "There should be 60 bushels or more of corn put up in the shock for one steer, or one acre and a half of common corn. The cattle should be smooth, thrifty, 3 or 4 years old, to be taken up before they begin to fall off and furnished with good lots to change in, running water, timber or broken ground to the west or north. If possible salt once a week, and after the first week give them as much corn and fodder as they can eat. In case of ailment split the tail and give them soot and salt."—Letter from C. Robertson in *The Prairie Farmer*, September, 1866.

were able to sell their corn to immigrants. This short period in which settlers got their income by ministering to the wants of the newer immigrants was typical of the frontier in most parts of the United States and Canada, but it usually lasted only for one or two years.

On the frontier it was not necessary to figure as carefully on the rates of grain or the quantities of feed used as it was a few decades later.[126] There was little or no fattening and finishing in the modern sense. Prairie land was free or nearly so, and the cattle could get a living without much attention from their owners. A cattle man of that period declared: "Many of them eke out their living on prairie pasture and prairie hay; little grain is fed; cooked and ground food is among the myths; and at the end of three years the steer is put in market, and much of his price is considered clear gain". While these conditions continued it was not necessary to give much thought to improved methods of feeding. But as the number of settlers increased and the amount of land per man became less it became necessary to make a more intensive use of the land. This meant the growing of more crops, and the feeding of these crops to the cheap cattle raised by more recent settlers to the northwest, rather than to home grown cattle. As the prairie was put in crops the cattle used the rougher land as pasture. As soon as corn was available in the fall, the cattle which could be prepared for sale in the winter or spring were put on feed. This provided the farmer with a use for some of his spare time. His problem was to keep enough cattle to make use of the land which he had at his command in excess of the acreage which he could put in crops. He was also compelled to keep enough cattle or hogs to consume his corn and roughage crops.

[126] See, for example, the estimate on the cost and profit of feeding cattle, by Isaac A. Hedges, in *The Iowa Homestead*, March 10, 1871.

CATTLE IN THE DEVELOPING COMMUNITY

With the settling up of the State, the importance of the cattle enterprise tended to decline. A new phase in development was reached. Cattle were no longer needed to consume the almost superabundant prairie grass, but they were now needed to consume some of the low grade feeds produced on the farm, to pasture the waste land, and to save freight in the transportation of grains. Cattle raising was on the decline, but cattle feeding was increasing. Cattle which had been raised in newer sections to the west were beginning to come into Iowa to be fattened on corn before continuing their journey to market. In sections where there was an abundance of corn land but only a moderate proportion of rough pasture land, the feeding business developed rapidly between 1880 and 1896. The more forward looking Iowa cattlemen were coming to realize that the cheaper lands of the ranges possessed an advantage over Iowa land in the production of feeders.[127] Though the Iowa land could produce more cattle per square mile than the land of the ranges, it was even more valuable for the production of other crops. The crop with the smaller relative advantage, therefore, came to be left more and more to the rougher and less productive sections, while Iowa farmers turned their attention more to the production of hogs and the feeding of the cattle already grown to marketable age on the ranges.

A writer in 1878 declared: "In the older settled districts there is a considerable extent of sown pasture, but by far

[127] "The result of these gradual movements both on the plains and prairies is the bringing of the ranchman and the farmer into new relations, and their interests instead of being clashing are now practically one. . . . Cornfields lie between the pastures and the markets, whether at home or abroad, and hence, cheap grass, cheap corn, and cheap transportation will furnish a solution of the problem of cheap food for the beef and mutton eaters of the world."—*Wallaces' Farmer*, May 14, 1897.

the greater part of the grass area of the State is natural prairie, affording good pasture in summer, but little that is of even fair quality in winter. On these pastures and on 'stalk' fields cows and young stock are kept all the year round, receiving a little hay when the grass gets buried amongst snow."[128] By 1890 blue grass pasture was prevalent in the southeastern half of the State. But the area of pasture was on the decline.

In the older sections the calves were ordinarily allowed to run with their mothers during the summer and fall, and were not weaned until they were five or six months old. In winter all the stock ran in the stalk fields until they exhausted this source of food. They also had the run of the straw stacks, and were usually fed some prairie hay or, if it was available, clover or timothy. Little grain was used except in fattening, except that in winter an effort was usually made to feed some ground grain to small calves.

The cattle were seldom fattened for market before they reached an age of three or three and a half years. Pasturage was still cheap and plentiful in the newer sections until about 1890, and it did not cost much more to keep a steer for an additional year. Various experiments were made in the finishing of cattle at younger ages, but cheap pasturage in the northwestern part of the State still outweighed the smaller feed cost in the fattening of the younger animals.[129]

[128] MacDonald's *Food from the Far West,* Ch. XV, p. 121.

[129] "A close reader of the cattle market will notice the unusual number of yearlings put on the market and also the high price of medium priced cattle." But the writer did not consider the sale of yearlings "wise even at prices within 45 cents of the very top of the market. To fit a calf for market at twelve months old is too expensive; that is it requires too much corn and does not utilize enough grass. Let us analyze the item of expense. First there is a year's keep of the cow and the service of the sire. This cannot be put at less than $18.00. For the first six months the grass eaten is very small. To fatten them at twelve months requires a heavy grain ration,

One evidence of progress in the care of the cattle is found in the growth of the practice of dehorning. It was said in the *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society* for 1887 that the "practice of dehorning cattle is a recent innovation in Iowa, and is being carried on with gratifying results in many localities."[130] This practice gained rapidly in popularity and stopped much of the injury that had previously been caused by the horns. It also facilitated quiet handling of the stock.

CROPS AND THE CATTLE ENTERPRISE

Wheat was usually the first crop of importance after breaking the prairie. It had, however, no very close relationship to the beef industry. It did not, like corn, furnish a feed for the cattle. The straw was of relatively little value although used to some extent both as forage and as bedding. The wheat supplemented but did not complement the beef enterprise. The two together used all the land available, and provided the farmer with more constant employment than either one could do alone. But neither was directly dependent on the other and the two did not provide a well balanced farm organization.

In the *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society* for 1875, a writer from Mitchell County said: "Until quite recently wheat has been the staple crop and the only source of revenue. Now a diversified industry is beginning to be appreciated; more cattle, hogs and horses are grown."[131] More cattle and hogs meant, of course, more corn. In 1875 and 1876 there were very poor wheat crops. As a result of the reductions in yield after wheat had been grown on the same

and that during a season when there is no chance for grass."—*The Iowa Homestead*, May 20, 1877.

[130] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1887, p. 47.

[131] *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1875, p. 438.

ground for a number of years, there was a large reduction in the acreage of wheat planted in the late seventies and the eighties. The displacement of wheat by corn brought the crops and the cattle into mutually dependent relationship. This process marked a milestone in the progress of agriculture. It occurred in the sixties and seventies in the southeastern part of the State, and reached the northwestern part in the late eighties and early nineties.

In the eastern part of central Iowa, despite the increase in the planting of crops, cattle were still raised mostly on grass. One of the largest cattle feeders in Mahaska County in 1880 reported that he had only about forty acres of corn and forty of oats on a four hundred acre farm. The rest was in pasture or hay.[132] This was undoubtedly a larger proportion of grass than was to be found on most farms in the neighborhood, and was a great deal more than could be found on a similar farm a decade later when more corn was being raised.

In the northwestern counties it was thought for some time that corn could not be grown successfully. Many farmers were slow to plant it. The first few crops of corn were small, twenty bushels per acre being considered a fair crop.[133] In the nineties much of the land in the northwestern part of the State was in the hands of speculators. These men were anxious to have corn grown on their land to make it appear more valuable. Some of them, in renting their land, stipulated in the lease that a certain acreage of corn was to be grown on each farm or quarter section, thus hastening its adoption as a crop.[134]

About 1900 there was considerable interest for a time in

[132] Interview with R. W. Moore of Cedar.

[133] Interviews with J. H. Wolf of Primghar, J. J. Murray of Rock Rapids, and with an old settler at Rock Rapids.

[134] Interview with J. J. Murray of Rock Rapids.

the practice of soaking the corn for feed.[135] This was not a new practice, however, as it had often been done in the spring or summer when the corn was dry and hard. An important development in the use of corn, which occurred for the most part after 1900, was the more careful use of the stover. The stover had been used more by the early settlers, who for a time cut and shocked most of their corn, than by the Iowa farmer of 1880 or 1890. During the years of abundant prairie hay and cheap corn it was not necessary or profitable to spend time in taking care of such a cheap commodity as corn stover. Between 1900 and 1910 it became apparent that it would be necessary to use the stalk as well as the ear, if the farmer was to make both ends meet under the condition of narrow profits that had arisen.[136] Farmers began to make fuller use of the stover.

[135] "Nearly all farmers agree that it pays to soak the corn for cattle on grass. In an ordinary summer corn is hard and the teeth of the cattle that have been grazing on soft grass for some time are unfit to properly masticate this hard corn. Therefore, it is better to soak it. Care, however, must be taken that it is not allowed to become sour."—*Wallaces' Farmer*, June 26, 1903.

[136] "The corn belt farmers who are not dairymen can not be greatly blamed for wasting this (corn stover) during the last fifty years. In fact, so long as we could get all the cattle we wanted on the range, it was often better to waste the corn fodder than to save it. Corn fodder has no actual value unless fed on the farm; and whether there were cattle or livestock of other kinds, the waste of labor involved in cutting and in husking was greater than the waste of the fodder. Besides, until within the last comparatively few years, we had no corn harvesters, no corn shellers, no silos.

"A great change has come over our agriculture in the last fifteen years. Land both on the prairies and on the plains has trebled in price. We can no longer depend on the great national stock ranges for feeding steers. More and more we shall have to grow them on high priced lands. To do this we must utilize the stalk of the corn as well as the ear, 100 per cent instead of 60 per cent. To utilize this immense waste we must get cattle somewhere. For while sheep and horses, and even hogs can utilize some fodder, cattle are the only class of live stock that can utilize it to any very great advantage. They are built that way.

"If we can not buy them we must grow them. To do so we must grow less corn and more grass, less grain and more roughage. We must change our

A few cut corn so it could be fed from the shock. The majority began to make fuller and more careful use of the stalk pasture.

Between 1870 and 1880 blue grass began to appear in the southern and eastern third of the State as far west as Union County. In the northwestern part, north of Ida and Webster counties, it did not become very common until well along in the nineties. Although the method of its introduction into most sections was quite obscure, there was an occasional effort to plant it intentionally. A settler in Ida County planted a meadow with blue grass in 1880. Two years later, desiring to harvest some seed, but not knowing just how to go about it, he cut the grass while in seed and cured it and piled it in cocks like hay. Before he could haul it, there was a flood which picked up the cocks and carried them off down stream, spreading blue grass seed as it went.[137]

As a hay crop timothy was usually the first tame grass to be planted. The reasons have already been mentioned. No inoculation was needed for timothy and good crops could be grown from the start. Clover seems to have followed timothy at intervals from two years in some of the northwestern sections to a decade or more in some of the sections first settled. In the southern part of the State, clover had been planted in small patches east of the Des Moines River before 1870, but it did not come into general use until the middle of the eighties. Actual dates for the

methods of feeding cattle; and before we can change our methods we must change our ideals. Thirty years ago we grew cattle on cheap land mainly to market our corn. About fifteen years ago we began to feed grain to cattle and hogs and make beef and pork. From this on we must grow grass and roughage, grow our cattle on these, and feed enough corn and other grains to make our roughage-fed cattle marketable.''—*Wallaces' Farmer*, June 12, 1914.

[137] Interview with Robison Baxter of Ida Grove.

beginnings of such crops, however, are very difficult to secure.

Although little was then known regarding microbiology, and the relationship between certain bacteria and members of the legume family was not known to the ordinary farmer; still, by observation and empirical rule, they often accomplished soil inoculation with as good results as have been secured in recent times by scientific measures. As early as 1862, J. B. Harsh, of Creston, Iowa, who was then living in Bureau County, Illinois, shipped a two bushel sack of earth from an old clover field to his brother in Union County, Iowa. This earth was scattered over a field intended for clover, and a good stand was obtained.[138] Such an early introduction of an improved crop like clover was a decided advantage to a community, as it ordinarily took some years after the need was felt before clover became established. Most of the clover planted in new sections received no inoculation other than bacteria which might be clinging to the seed planted.

Clover moved to the northwest across the State, accompanying the intensification of agriculture. In the middle of the eighties it was established east of the line formed by

[138] "While I did not know all that is now known about the inoculation of the soil, I did know from observation in and around my home in Bureau County, Illinois, that when farmers went afield on the prairie and broke up a new piece of virgin soil that when they wished to seed it to clover they scattered clover hay over the field, and especially I knew from observation in Union County, Iowa, having often visited there from '59 to '62, that where movers camped at night and left clover hay about their camping place that clover sprang up in abundance on the spot.

"So I argued there was some connection and therefore in 1862 I shipped a two bushel grain sack of earth, taken from a clover field, to my brother, P. L. Harsh, who then lived in Highland Township, Union County, Iowa. There was no railroad station at Afton, at that time, but I shipped it to Eddyville, Iowa, and from there it was taken by freighting wagons to Afton, where my brother received it. He sowed it on his field intended for clover and got a good stand the first time tried."—Extract from a letter from J. B. Harsh, of Creston, dated November 4, 1922.

Decatur and Winneshiek counties, or approximately in the southeastern third of the State. In a region from this line to another about four counties to the west it was just being planted. By 1895 it had become established in the northwestern part of the State.

About 1903 alfalfa began to be tried out on a larger scale than before.[139] It was supposed at this time that it could be grown only in the extreme western part of Iowa. Its introduction had been gradual, as had that of clover. The first alfalfa in Buena Vista County, in the northwestern part of the State, was said to have been planted in 1907. Between 1907 and 1910 it was introduced into other counties in that region. By 1913 it was a crop of considerable value, although its acreage was small as compared to that planted since. Alfalfa grew best and spread most rapidly in the western section, but by 1910 it was also being grown in small acreages in most other parts. By 1914 its use was becoming common among the beef producers of western Iowa. In 1924 the Iowa Weather and Crop Bureau reported 276,000 acres of alfalfa in the State.[140]

Another improvement taken up by Iowa stock men during the period from 1900 to 1914 was the silo. It was not an altogether new idea in 1904 but there were very few silos in the State at that time.[141] Farmers and farm papers

[139] See the *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture*, 1903, pp. 380-394, 1905, pp. 783-808.

[140] *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture*, 1924, p. 347.

[141] "It is now more than twenty years since agricultural papers and agricultural meetings began discussing the advantages of the silo. The conviction has become quite settled in the minds of the public generally that the silo is in a manner essential to successful dairying. . . . It is only, however, within the last very few years that the silo is regarded by the most advanced thinkers as important, if not essential to the production of beef cattle."—*Wallaces' Farmer*, May 20, 1904.

were just beginning to talk about silos seriously. Between 1904 and 1910 they began to be used for feeding beef cattle. By 1914 they were being built rapidly. In fact, about this time there were a great many silos built which were used only a few times thereafter. The silo found its greatest use in the eastern Iowa feeding area, or in other sections where alfalfa was not widely grown.[142]

In the late nineties and shortly after 1900 gluten meal, oil meal, and cottonseed meal came to be used much more widely as nitrogenous supplements to the grain ration for fattening cattle. These supplements had been used since the early nineties, but only by a few feeders and in very small amounts. They were often sprinkled lightly over the corn rather than used as an important part of the ration.[143] About 1905 they came to be common feeding stuffs for the ordinary feeder. They permitted more rapid gains and the more complete utilization of the grain ration, which consisted largely of starchy feeds such as corn. They helped to put a better finish on the cattle and thereby helped the owners to secure a better price.

The effort to grow more feed per acre was becoming

[142] As an example of the unqualified endorsement given silage at this time, a writer in *The Iowa Homestead*, July 10, 1913, declared: "Few facts in agriculture have been more clearly and conclusively established than that the silo is a necessity to the stock farmer. . . .

"Corn silage should be put into the feeding program of every Iowa beef producer if he wants to fatten cattle economically and efficiently. That corn silage is our most profitable cattle roughage has been clearly demonstrated at the experiment station as well as upon hundreds of Iowa farms.

"The addition of corn silage to the ration not only decreases very materially the cost of gains, but usually makes them more rapidly. The steers are finished more quickly and ordinarily sell for a higher price than where clover is used as the roughage.

"Fattening cattle of all ages utilize silage as their roughage ration. It is as good for the calf and yearling as for the two and three year old. All profit from its use."

[143] Interviews with M. S. Finch of Ida Grove, John Jelden of Everly, David R. Munro of Keota, and Ralph Clingman of Chariton.

more widespread in other States as well as in Iowa.[144] Various new crops and new combinations of crops were being tried. In Iowa the practice of planting rape, or soy beans, or cow peas among the corn was increasing.[145] The object was to grow as much feed per acre as possible and then to save labor by turning cattle or hogs into the field to harvest the crops for themselves. The idea was not new, but the need for economy was forcing its adoption.

In the late eighties and the nineties drainage began to be used to make the low lying lands tillable. This added still further to the increasing productive capacity of the State. The transition to a type of farming in which highly nutritious and high yielding crops were grown went along with a change both in the type of cattle produced and in their function in the farm organization. The dependence of the cattle enterprise on the type of crops available for feed and the mutual dependence between the cattle and the crops form an important chapter in the story of beef cattle production in Iowa.

BEEF CATTLE AND DAIRYING

One of the important functions of the first cows in newly settled sections was to furnish milk for the settlers. Therefore the early cattle were considered at least partly as dairy cattle, and were of unspecialized types, being neither high grade beef nor dairy cattle. But the profit in raising beef cattle on the open prairies soon provided an inducement for the development of the beef type of animal. There

[144] "Stockmen are taking advantage of the heavy forage crops that can be raised on a limited acreage. The cultivation of kaffir corn and milo maize is extending into northwestern Oklahoma and northwestern Texas; while in Western Kansas and Nebraska, in Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona, the growing of alfalfa for beef cattle has long passed the experimental stage." — *The Iowa Homestead*, March 13, 1902.

[145] Interview with an old settler at Ireton.

was little inducement to dairying beyond the needs of the pioneer community. The labor available could be used more profitably in tending beef cattle than in taking care of a dairy. There was little or no market for dairy products in the young agricultural communities, and transportation to the older communities was poor. Even in these older communities dairy products were still cheap.

In the northeastern part of Iowa there was little dairying except for home use prior to 1875. At about that date a few farmers began to make more butter than they could use or dispose of locally, and to pack it in summer for sale in the fall,[146] although it must have been a very inferior product by that time. About this time creameries and cheese factories began to be built in the more favored sections.[147] Farmers also began to bring cattle of the dairy breeds into Iowa in larger numbers than before. The bull calves were ordinarily castrated, and were either raised for beef or were raised to feeder age and sold to be fattened in other sections.

The interest in dairying which developed in the seventies spread over nearly all of the more thickly settled sections of the State. The northeastern part was well fitted to become a dairying section. This was not due to any particular advantage which it possessed, but rather because it was at a disadvantage in the production of crops. The topography and the soil fertility were such as to cause a large acreage to be left in pasture. In the remainder of

[146] Interview with E. L. Beard of Decorah.

[147] A report from Black Hawk County said: "Dairying is becoming one of the important pursuits. Two cheese factories have been erected and successfully conducted during the past year, and arrangements have been perfected for opening a third one. The cheese, made at the factories was excellent and found a ready home market". A report from Buchanan County declared: "Three cheese factories are in successful operation, and one butter factory doing a prosperous business."— *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1874, pp. 324, 330.

the State the interest in dairying soon died out because of the greater advantage in the raising of crops, and the smaller labor requirements of beef cattle.

After 1900 the cost of producing young stock in Iowa was observed to be increasing, and as a consequence attention again came to be given to the possibility of raising beef cattle from dairy herds. Dairying was spreading from the sections in which it was established. But this was very slow. Indeed there was an actual falling off in the number of milk cows reported in the State after 1909. The quality and productive capacity of the cows, however, improved. And it is probable that much of the reported decline in numbers was due to a refinement of the term "milk cow", so that many cows which had been milked but little for farm use, and which were not kept primarily for dairy purposes, were no longer reported as such after 1909.

The problem of combining the dairy business and the production of beef has been attacked again and again, but not with pronounced success. Attempts to make both equally the aim of the business have seldom lasted long. The milking of the cows of the beef herd has provided a possible means of increasing the farmer's income. This has been resorted to for the most part in times of agricultural depression, both in the recent and the more remote past.[148]

Another possible combination lies in raising the bull calves of the dairy herd for beef. Dairy calves are not highly popular with the producers of beef, but they can be used if the beef prices are high enough and the price of calves is low. Where the herd is not of a highly specialized dairy type, the objection to using such calves for beef is not

[148] "It is alleged that dairying is declining in Iowa. . . . With the class who were driven into milk production as a kind of side issue when beef cattle were low, there has probably been a decline".— *The Iowa Homestead*, May 3, 1900.

necessarily strong.[149] This gives an opportunity for the dual purpose herd.[150]

In the northeastern counties where dairying is now the principal live stock enterprise, feeder cattle were produced during the early years of dairying. But after 1908 or 1910, when the stock had come to be strongly of dairy type, the cattle from this section became less popular with the feeders. Feeder cattle are still produced here but not from the better dairy herds.[151]

SHELTER FOR CATTLE

In the organization of the early farm but little trouble and expense was incurred in providing shelter for live stock.[152] Straw stacks, straw sheds, and groves continued

[149] "The last three or four years have been eye-openers. The close margins which feeders have been obliged to accept have taught them that there is no profit in the calf of the special purpose cow. . . . Now they are looking for the man who can offer them cheap cattle and that man is the dairyman who uses the Short-horn grades, sells his milk or cream to the creamery, and grows his calves by hand. Either this man or the ranchman must furnish the great bulk of the feeding steers for the future. These are the only two men that can furnish them at a price that will justify their feeding, and herein lies the opportunity for a new race of Shorthorn breeders. . . . The great demand of the dairyman now is for bulls of the dual purpose type".— *Wallaces' Farmer*, April 21, 1899.

[150] "The man who raises his own steers, and therefore keeps a cow for the calf she will produce, must on high priced land, in the future market his steers at the age of about twelve or fourteen months. If he will let them suck and feed them all the grain they will consume they will weigh from 1000 to 1200 pounds at this age and will bring the top notch price if they are bred right. The cost of the cows' keep will be from $10 to $18, and you can sell a calf a year at from $50 to $60 — sometimes for 25 per cent more than this. In this way ten bushels of grain will bring the calf to this age, while if you carried on under low pressure feeding until he was three years old he would consume 100 bushels."— *The Iowa Homestead*, November 10, 1904.

[151] Interviews with E. L. Beard of Decorah, and C. A. Round of Cedar Falls.

[152] "Iowa has remarkably little house accommodation for cattle. As a rule, the common cattle are provided with no shelter whatever, save what they may find around a hay-stack, or in that elegant erection designated an 'Iowa Barn', a building of some fame in the Far West". It was made as follows:

to do service on most farms and over the greater part of the State until late in the nineties. In some of the older sections barns were built at a relatively early period, but most of them were intended for horses, or milk cows, and not for beef cattle. Much was written about the need for barns and better shelter for the cattle. Actually they needed but little shelter except on very cold days or during storms.

An old settler of Ida County relates that about 1880 he built a shelter for his cattle, most of which had been raised with little or no shelter. It was of the usual "straw shed" type, that is, it was constructed by laying poles across the tops of upright posts and these poles were then covered with prairie hay. The hay was not out of the reach of the cattle, and the shed served both as a shelter and a hay rack. The cattle in question, even after being driven into the shed, usually left it as soon as they could, and lay in the snow. For a while their owner got up in the night, if it was cold or stormy, to drive them back into the shed again. But the cattle continued to use it only as a hay rack. At last, disgusted at their stupidity, but concluding that they did not need the shelter badly anyhow, he let them lie in the snow if they wished.[153]

Some reports would indicate that sheds and barns were common in much of the eastern part of the State before the last quarter of the nineteenth century,[154] but these reports,

"Drive two opposite rows of posts into the ground, leaving eight or ten feet between each post each way; lay a net work of sticks across the top of these; cover that with a liberal coating of straw held down by sticks, and you have an Iowa barn in all the glory of its original grandeur!"— MacDonald's *Food from the Far West,* Ch. XV, p. 121.

[153] Interview with Robison Baxter of Ida Grove.

[154] "The straw and hay covered sheds — so long famous on the farms, are giving way to large and commodious barns, and stock is securely protected from the fierce blasts of winter."— *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society,* 1873, p. 387.

which are relatively few in number, seem to have magnified greatly the actual number of barns. In Delaware County straw sheds were the prevailing shelter for cattle until about 1890.[155] In Greene County there were very few barns before 1885.[156] In Sioux County barns and sheds, except straw sheds, were not generally built until about 1895.[157]

There was a justification for doing without barns or substantial sheds until a section was well settled. In the newer regions, capital, especially in the form of material for building was scarce. What capital was available yielded the larger return when invested in cattle rather than buildings. Crops were cheap and could be fed freely. The advantage of buildings for cattle is largely in that such shelters save feed by preventing the waste of some of the animals' bodily heat. They also prevent some winter loss, but that could be done by cheaper shelters than barns. Until capital invested in buildings would yield approximately as much as that invested in other forms of capital goods, the buildings were not justified economically. It is probable that other than economic motives — humanitarian ones — prevented the lapse of very much time between the first economic need for buildings and their actual erection.

THE CATTLE ENTERPRISE AFTER 1896

The year 1896 may be taken as the beginning of a fairly stable period in the agriculture of Iowa, and the beginning of the third phase of development of the cattle enterprise. While the enterprise retained some of its earlier functions it now took on another. The cattle enterprise now became a means of utilizing low grade forages, waste products of other crops, and rough land which it was not yet profitable

[155] Interview with an old settler at Manchester.

[156] Interview with an old settler at Jefferson.

[157] Interview with an old settler at Ireton.

to put in crops. It now became something of a salvaging enterprise in an intensive farm organization, converting into a saleable form waste products or low grade by-products of some other enterprises.

During this later period the relationship between the relative prices of farm commodities and their production became more obvious than before. It became clear that the price relationships between cattle and the materials and labor which enter into their production bring about a rather delicately balanced equilibrium in farm organization. If the relative price of beef cattle increased it became profitable to produce beef under less favorable conditions. If the price of one of the productive agents increased, it became necessary to use that agent more sparingly or to find a substitute. The relative prices, for instance, of corn, cattle, and hogs, determine how much of the corn raised on a farm should be sold as grain, how much should be fed to hogs, and how much should be used in supplementing roughage fed to cattle. It must not be imagined that price relationships were unimportant in adjusting the farm enterprises prior to the period we are now discussing. But the greater stability of agriculture and the continuing fluctuations in price relationships caused attention to be focused on prices and costs more than before.

By 1896 the process of settlement was completed. The evolution of a settled agriculture from the pioneer type had practically come to an end except in a few small areas. In the years immediately following 1900 there was a rise in the price of corn as compared to that of cattle. This stimulated several important changes in the methods of producing beef and in the place that beef cattle occupied in the farm organization. Cattle had been high as compared to corn from 1896 to 1900, and the production of beef had therefore been profitable. But with a reversal of this price

relationship, the cattle enterprise lost its advantage over the sale of grain or the production of hogs, which were likewise rising in price.

But from 1900 to 1914 the number of beef cattle in Iowa increased. Therefore the price relationships can not be taken alone as explaining the variations in the number of cattle during this period.

In the rougher sections of Iowa there was an incentive to keep some cattle to use rough land for pasture. Other uses could have been found for much of it, and less would probably have been used for cattle had it been necessary to feed as much corn as before in finishing the cattle. But with good crops of clover hay displacing some of the grain ration and bringing the cattle through the winter in better condition than prairie hay could have done, it remained profitable to produce young cattle in the rougher sections.

There was a change in the method of producing beef as well as in the raw materials used. Ever since farmers began to realize in the late eighties and nineties that cattle could be finished for market at the "tender age of thirty months", there was a constant tendency in the direction of raising "baby beef". On an increasing number of farms this provided a profitable means of using pasture for the breeding herd, and a profitable means of feeding a part of the corn crop together with good grade roughage.

THE CATTLE ENTERPRISE DURING THE EUROPEAN WAR

The changes in price relationship during the European War demonstrated the extent to which it is possible to alter the farm organization. The rise in the price of cattle added a speculative factor to the business of feeding and of raising cattle. The relationship between corn prices and cattle prices of the same day did not measure the advantage in cattle feeding. Even though corn was high priced when

fed, later increases in cattle prices might result in a profit when the cattle were sold.

Early in the war there was a short period when cattle prices held an advantage over corn, but this was followed by a more rapid rise of the price of corn over that of cattle. There was, therefore, a tendency to restrict the size of the cattle enterprise where it could be done without involving a waste of pasture on rough land, or of forage of the by-product type. Cattle were sold at younger ages and in lighter weights. The corn which would, under normal price conditions, have gone to make the additional weight was often sold separately. After 1915, cattle became more than ever consumers of roughage. This continued until 1921, when the fall in the price of corn again made it profitable to turn as much of it into beef as possible.

The changed demand of the market for beef furthered the tendency to sell cattle in poorer finish. A high quality of beef was not demanded by the army and navy. With the rapid rise in the price of beef, even civilian consumers began to take lighter cuts and to buy cheaper qualities during the early part of the war. But later when the wage earners of the cities began to get higher wages, they took to buying the choice cuts rather than the cheaper ones which they had used in the past.

Little that was new was developed in feeding methods during the period from 1914 to 1922. There were a few developments in the directions already established by earlier tendencies. The growing of alfalfa, which was not believed to be economically possible by many farmers in some sections of the State, constantly increased in these places. Continued attempts to grow it, and consequently a more thorough soil inoculation, together with a better understanding of the soil needs of the crop all hastened its planting.

Between 1914 and 1923 the silo became more strongly established in the eastern feeding area. In the western area it made little if any gain. Here alfalfa grew well and provided a high grade forage, so that silage was not so much needed. Also there was usually less labor available in the western than in the eastern area, making the labor demand at silo filling time a greater handicap.

The practice of feeding cattle during the summer was growing in favor in most sections. The cheapness of gains on grass and the smaller amount of grain required to finish the steer made this method a profitable one. Cattle which were to be summer fed were usually bought late in the winter, or, if bought in the fall, were carried through the winter mostly on roughage, and with very little grain. After they were put on grass the grain ration was gradually increased until the cattle were usually getting as much corn as they would eat. This method saved not only grain but labor as well, compared to the labor requirement of cattle fed in the winter. A disadvantage was that the labor was demanded more in summer by other enterprises. A great deal of the summer feeding, however, was done by men whose principal business was the finishing of cattle. These men usually carried on a year-round feeding enterprise and combined summer and winter feeding. By doing this, they were able to make fuller use of their equipment as well as of the special skill which they had developed.

The big feeder was able to combine the most economical methods. He could gain by conducting business on a larger scale. Handling more cattle he was able to pick out steers of a more uniform finish when he sold, keeping back the "tail enders" to sell with a later lot. He could feed with a smaller labor requirement per steer. And he developed a higher degree of skill in buying and selling. On the other hand the little feeder could use a larger propor-

tion of roughage which would partly, or largely, be wasted if not fed to the cattle, and his labor was usually of a sort that cost little during the winter. The little feeder seldom bought much of the feed he used. Consequently, in the event of a bad year, he usually came through in better shape than the big feeder because his loss, as far as feed was concerned, was merely the lack of an opportunity to sell his grain instead of feeding it. The big feeder on the contrary, had paid, or had obligated himself to pay hard cash for a larger part of the grain which he fed.

VII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE METHODS OF FINISHING CATTLE

In a previous chapter it was said that beef sold in Charleston late in the eighteenth century from cattle which had been raised in the Piedmont region on grass alone was "neither fat nor of good taste", while the meat of cattle from the same region, after they had been fattened on corn in Pennsylvania, was of good quality.[158] This improvement in corn fattened cattle results not so much from the added fat as from the so called "marbling" of the flesh. This means that fat is deposited on and around the bundles of muscle fibers themselves, a condition which adds greatly to the tenderness, juiciness, and palatability of the meat, as well as to its digestibility.[159] People

[158] Hopkins's *Economic History of the Production of Beef Cattle in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXVI, p. 74.

[159] "The accumulation of fatty tissues, as such, is of secondary importance in fattening, the main object being to improve the quality of the lean meat itself. To some extent during growth, and especially during fattening, there is a deposition of fat in the lean-meat tissue. A small portion of this may be deposited within the muscular fibers themselves, but a much larger part is stored between the bundles of fibers, constituting the so called 'marbling' of meat. This deposition of fat adds to the tenderness, juiciness, flavor, and di

are willing to pay a higher price for meat from well finished cattle than from those which have not been in the feed yards.

The prices farmers receive for different grades of cattle may not be exactly in proportion to the consumers' preferences, because other economic factors help fix prices. Moreover, the preferences of consumers are subject to some degree of change. In a period of business prosperity there is likely to be a wider spread between the prices of the better and the inferior cuts of meat. As the business cycle wanes, and it becomes necessary for the consumer to watch his expenditures more closely, the spread in price between different grades of meat becomes less. The farmer begins to notice that the thicker, better finished cattle are no longer selling at as great a premium as usual. If he is wise he will take the hint, and sell his cattle in poorer flesh than usual, because the last increment to the finish costs more in feed and care than the earlier improvement. If high finish is not in demand, the last fifty or hundred pounds may easily cost more than the market is willing to pay for them.

METHODS OF FEEDING PRIOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BUSINESS IN IOWA

Cattle feeding in southeastern Pennsylvania, late in the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth centuries, seems to have been done mostly in barns, or if carried on in the yards around them, was more nearly like the stall feeding type than that from which the methods of early Iowa were derived. There was some feeding of corn in the fodder, but the corresponding mid-western practice appears to have been derived from a different section.

gestibility of the meat, besides increasing its nutritive value. There is also an increase in the soluble protein and in other extractives of the muscles, resulting in a further betterment of the quality of the meat as an additional advantage from fattening.''— Henry and Morrison's *Feeds and Feeding*, p. 94.

The method used in Virginia, where some cattle were fattened on corn early in the nineteenth century, has already been mentioned. Cattle were fed twice a day in open lots of ten acres or more. The feed consisted largely of corn in the fodder which was thrown on the ground.[160] The cattle were followed by hogs to clean up the waste. This method corresponds very closely to the system used in early Iowa and was probably the source of the Iowa practice though in an indirect way.

Conditions in the Virginia feeding area at this time were in some respects quite similar to those in Iowa just after the middle of the nineteenth century. Corn was plentiful and cheap. Cattle from the grass regions to the south and southwest could be secured cheaply, and furnished the most satisfactory way of marketing the corn. The climate, however, was milder than in Iowa, which led to feeding out of doors with little or no shelter. The Virginia practices were carried to other States.

In the feeding regions in Ohio, from about 1830 to 1860, feeding methods developed similar to those used later in Iowa. Prior to the building of the railroads across Ohio, the method of feeding had been much the same as in Virginia. It is very likely that the methods were taken to Ohio from Virginia by settlers from the older State. The Ohio cattle, like those in Virginia, were fed corn in the fodder which was thrown on the ground in the feed lot. Little or no shelter was used.

Before the railroads were built into Ohio, it was the practice to feed the cattle on corn for the larger part of two winters.[161] They were started on corn at three or four

[160] *Eighth Census of the United States* (Agriculture), 1860, p. cxxx.

[161] "When the business of feeding cattle on the Scioto river was at its height, say from 1840 to 1850, to make A No. 1 lot of fat cattle, the best grades were feed some ten to twenty bushels of corn in March and April when they were three years old, and other cattle at the age of four years; they were

years of age, and were then grazed through the summer and fall. Then they were fed all the corn they would eat during the winter. They were started east to market between the first of the year and early spring. Such was the situation before the coming of the railroads.

When the railroads were built there was a change in the feeding methods because of the new outlet for grain. Cattle were no longer fed so heavily nor kept so long as before. One winter's feeding came to be the rule instead of a winter and part of another. The feeding was now started in the winter before the cattle were three years old and lasted well into the spring, when the cattle were sold. This led to a complaint in some quarters that the cattle were being sold at too young an age thereby involving an absolute waste of "raw material", in that the animals were not allowed to get their full growth. Exactly the same sort of complaints were made a couple of decades later in Iowa when the price of corn increased in relationship to cattle, and the Iowa feeder began to reduce the age at which he finished his stock.

In the feeding areas which developed in Illinois, as those in Ohio declined, there was no great change in the

then grazed throughout the whole summer and fall in the best manner, then fed from four to five and a half months all the corn they would eat — say full half bushel per day each before starting to market; cattle that had no corn the previous spring were well grazed and fed from five to six months. Now, cattle handled as the former would begin to go to market by the 1st of July, and all or nearly all would be in market before the 1st day of January. Quite a common way of prosecuting the business now is to commence feeding the cattle in January or February, *when less than three years old*, on corn in limited quantities, substituting more fodder or other rough feed, but increasing the quantity of corn in March or April, often to full feeding, say from twenty-five to forty bushels in the aggregate, per head, and these cattle will commence to be sent to market by the 1st of June, and by the 1st of October by far the greater portion of them will have gone; comparatively few of them, perhaps, having been detained to be fed on corn for a month or two before starting them."— *Eighth Census of the United States* (Agriculture), 1860, pp. cxxxi, cxxxii.

methods.[162] Conditions were much the same as they had been in Ohio a few years earlier. There was, however, a noticeable reduction in the age at which the cattle were finished, corresponding approximately to the reduction that had taken place in Ohio. The Illinois cattle seem to have been finished usually at between three and four years.

FINISHING OF CATTLE IN EARLY IOWA

In early Iowa there was but little feeding of corn. In each section feeding was forced to wait for a few years until corn began to be grown in sufficient quantities to be used

[162] McCoy's *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, pp. 166, 167, contains a description of the methods used in feeding cattle in Morgan County, Illinois. Part of this description is as follows. "A few weeks before the grass in the pasture fails, the feeder begins to give his cattle corn, at first but little, gradually increasing the amount until the cattle become thoroughly accustomed to it, without gorging or foundering. When the pasture becomes bare of grass, the cattle are brought into the feed yards, and there daily fed for from four to six months. The feeder's outfit is usually an ox team of one or more pairs of cattle, which are attached to a wagon, upon which is placed a long, rude, strong rack, much like a hay frame, upon which the shock corn is thrown, then drawn from the field to the feed yard. Entering the yard with his team, the feeder mounts the load, and with a stake or standard from the rack, throws the corn to the ground, first upon one side then upon the other, while the team moves around a beaten circuit which they soon become accustomed to follow, and which is soon marked by a high ridge of corn stalks, which in muddy, rainy times, forms a dry spot or circle, as well as an excellent bed in cold weather.

"The ground is literally floored or paved with corn stalks in the feed yard, and the cattle are allowed to eat as much as they desire, and that too of the best ears of corn. An average sized bullock will eat and waste, one half bushel of corn each day, and will become, in time, very fat. The usual gain in from four to six months feeding, is from two to three hundred pounds. Extra good feeding of extra good cattle will often make greater gains. Many feeders prefer to feed husked or snapped corn, which is fed in boxes or troughs. There is less waste of corn, but this method requires feeding hay or straw for roughness.

"When shock corn is fed, two yards are provided, in which the cattle are fed alternate days. Whilst they are being fed in one, a herd of swine are eating up the waste and offal in the other. One or two hogs to each bullock are thus made fat. The profit on the hogs fatted is no inconsiderable item in the feeding operation."

in this way. The cattle industry in Iowa was first one of producing cattle on pasture. Some of these grass fed cattle were sold to feeders in Illinois, and others were sold directly to the markets with no greater finish than could be secured from the prairie grass. As the growing of corn increased cattle began to be fed on it, but only lightly at first, because there were still more cattle raised than corn with which to feed them. Consequently they were not highly finished and many cattle were still sold off grass with no feeding of corn at all.

As early as 1851, some cattle were being fed in Henry County. The corn was fed in the fodder, as was then the custom in Illinois. The fodder was usually thrown on the ground in the feed lot, but was sometimes fed in racks.[163] In muddy weather there was a great waste, even though the cattle were followed by hogs. There was no great incentive to saving, however, with corn as cheap as it was. After a few years, the settlers from sections in the East who were accustomed to cutting and shocking corn began to discover that much labor could be saved by snapping or by husking the corn in the field. Thus in the southwestern part of the State in the fifties, and within a decade later in other sections, the fodder was largely supplanted by snapped corn or broken ears. The snapped corn, like the fodder, was fed on the ground for some time before bunks[164] were used.

In the late sixties the snapped corn began to be displaced to some degree in the south central part of the State by broken ear corn fed in bunks.[165] The practice, previously

[163] Interview with H. C. Weir of Mt. Pleasant.

[164] Broad troughs in which the feed is placed. They are ordinarily about three feet wide, ten to twenty feet long and six to nine inches deep, supported about two and a half feet above the ground.

[165] Interview with Frank Smith of Chariton, and C. F. Cain of Chariton.

mentioned, of using two feed lots was tried out about this time by some feeders. It involved feeding cattle on alternate days in different lots. The hogs were turned into the lot the cattle were not using in order to use up the waste. But with the low price of corn the advantages of this method over feeding both classes of stock in the same lot were not great.

The feeding period in Iowa was relatively long. In the seventies cattle were usually fed for six to eight months in sections where corn was being grown to any considerable extent.[166] Some were allowed to run in the corn in the fall to save labor.[167]

The cattle were put on feed when three or even four years old. For a few years after settlement corn fodder was used as the principal roughage. As corn came to be husked or snapped from the standing stalks, the fodder was replaced by prairie hay, and later by timothy, then clover. Very little shelter was used other than the straw stacks and groves.

MARKETING CORN THROUGH BEEF

From 1870 to nearly the end of the century the production of corn increased rapidly, and the price was generally low. This favored feeding it to cattle. The freight rates on corn from central Iowa points to Chicago consumed approximately one fifth of its value. Corn averaged about forty-five cents per bushel during this period, and the freight was from seventeen to nineteen cents per one hundred pounds from Boone to Chicago. On cattle, on the other hand, the freight consumed only about one twentieth of the value. The price of fat cattle in Chicago averaged

[166] Interview with H. M. Fulton of Atlantic, and with an old settler at Jefferson.

[167] Interview with an old settler at Oskaloosa.

about five dollars and the freight about twenty-five cents per hundredweight. This difference in the proportion of the value of the product consumed by freight greatly favored cattle feeding. There were many cases in which cattle were fattened on snapped corn alone, the husks taking the place of roughage.

Except for the heavier corn ration, there was little change at this time in the methods of feeding. It was considered not only desirable but even necessary to keep the steer to an age of three or four years before he was fattened. It was thought that the life of the steer was naturally divided into two parts. During the first part he could only be expected to grow and attain the necessary frame and size for finishing. Farmers believed that a steer could not be properly fattened and finished until this period was passed, while in the second part of his life he could easily put on fat and the necessary finish. This idea was the basis of the prevailing practice of keeping the animal on cheap grass until he was three or four years old, and then feeding him heavily on corn for several months before he was sold.

The cattle which were to be sold were usually started on feed in the fall and kept on a rather heavy ration throughout the winter. They were frequently started on green corn fodder, then changed to snapped corn, on which they were fed for a couple of months. They were then changed to ear corn, and finally to shelled corn. The shelled corn stage might be omitted entirely and the cattle finished on ear or even on snapped corn. The feeding period varied from five to nine months. The cattle usually weighed more than the prevalent type in the markets for the past dozen years, often 1300 to 1400 pounds, and sometimes considerably more. Sixteen hundred pounds was not an unusual weight for a finished steer, and between four and five years was by no means an unusual age.

It should not be forgotten that the majority of the cattle sold before 1890 were raised mainly on grass, and there were probably as many sold without having had any corn as were fed enough corn to be called really finished. In the seventies and eighties the cattle fattened on corn were usually fed prairie hay for roughage.[168] In the nineties clover was becoming common, and timothy had already displaced the wild hay in most parts of the State. Shelter was being improved during this time, but was not very elaborate for the cattle in the feed yard. The equipment used had undergone but little change. The difference between the equipment of 1870 and 1890 was mostly in that more feeding bunks and racks were used at the later date.

[168] "Away back when I first went into the business of feeding steers, forty years ago, we had no trouble to get all the good twos, threes, and fours we wanted right in our own state — in northern Iowa, and once in a while we would hike over into southern Minnesota and pick up a few big, dark red ones from the Danes. We got them fat off the prairie grass We picked 'em out in early October, weighing from 1050 to 1,150 pounds, good colors, fine straight steers, leaving the dogies and the 'yaller' ones for the other fellows. We got 'em for from two to three cents a pound, or on the grand average, I should judge, of about two and three-fourths cents weighed over the scales either at the place of the seller or at some nearby town. Then we drove the steers home and were at practically no expense whatever for the journey. Corn in those days cost from fifteen to twenty-five cents a bushel, say around twenty cents. We fed from 150 to 180 days and sold the steers thick-fat in Chicago, at from five to five and one-half cents a pound. We could cut prairie hay then, all we wanted, on the speculators lands and all it cost us was the labor involved. In those days steer-feeding was as stable a business as banking.

"That lasted us until about 1884 or 1885, when the northern Iowa prairies began to be broken up, fenced off and rented out to hay makers. It was then no longer possible to run big bands of steers at little or no cost all summer but the herder's wages, the keep of the ponies he rode and the salt the cattle licked. We started then to go to Colorado, Wyoming and even into Utah for our feeders and we worried along as best we could through the depression of the nineties. Ten or twelve years ago it became patent to every observing man that cattle were becoming scarcer and dearer, and that condition has progressed until today, any good feeding bullock cannot be bought on the market for less than $6.50 per cwt."— From an article by Peter Hopley in *The Iowa Homestead*, August 22, 1912.

There was no invention of any important new type of equipment.

CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES AND NECESSARY ECONOMIES

In the nineties the possibility of raising cattle on cheap prairie grass came to an end. Land in the older settled regions began to have higher values, and in the newer ones it was on the boom. The price of corn was fluctuating, but it was recognized by 1897 that the general trend was upwards, and the land was valued on the basis of the anticipated prices of the corn it would raise a few years later. It was no longer possible to make beef profitably by keeping cattle until they were three or four years old before they were fattened. At the experiment stations it had been shown that it was much more economical to produce lighter steers than the old heavy type of the same finish.[169]

The demand of the market began to change at about the same time, and there was a demand for lighter cattle. It is difficult to tell just what caused this change in the attitude of the consumer. It did not precede the change in methods

[169] "It is but a few years since the prevailing practice among cattle raisers and feeders was to allow the steer the first three years of its existence in which to attain the standard growth, and supplement this by six months on a heavy grain ration for the fattening process. The two periods were regarded as essentially distinct, and it was firmly believed that they must always remain so. . . . In January, 1893, the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station marketed cattle at 1,500 pounds that were rated 37½ cents per cwt. below 1700-pound cattle of the same quality. The buyers stated that they were equally as good in every respect except that they lacked the size required to furnish the cuts demanded by the trade. . . .

"A marked change has taken place within more recent years, however. These years have witnessed the passing of the large, overfattened steer and the supremacy of the well-fattened, medium weight carcass yielding better returns in the feed lot and more profit on the block, and it is probable that the old sort of heavy weights will never again outsell the compact tidy bullock of prime quality and medium scale."—Curtiss's *Some Essentials in Beef Production* in *Farmers' Bulletin* (United States Department of Agriculture), No. 71, p. 20.

of feeding by very many years. It is even possible that the change in the taste of the consumer was brought about by acquaintance with the product of the newer method of feeding.

The principal changes in the methods of fattening cattle between 1895 and 1907 or 1910 were in the finishing of cattle at a younger age, the use of better roughages and a smaller proportion of corn in the ration of the fattening cattle, and the use of nitrogenous supplements in the ration. Something has already been said concerning the fattening of younger animals. The change was partly a result of the improvement of the stock by the breeders. By 1908 or 1910, the common cattle of the State came to be as well finished and as heavy at two years of age as they had been at three years or over during the mid-nineties. Thus the improvement in breeding followed closely the conditions which demanded more efficiency in the use of feeds.

The change in types and grades of roughages grown for cattle was highly significant. Had it not been possible to change to the growing of such roughages as alfalfa and silage, the substitution of hogs for cattle in the farm organization would have proceeded at a much greater pace. The feeder was forced to make two changes in his feeding methods — one was in the use of less corn, the other was in substituting cheaper feeds for some of the grain. Both of these changes were made as far as an opportunity was offered.

The use of better roughages permitted greater gains with less corn. In the western feeding area, alfalfa became an important feed. Better gains could be made on alfalfa and corn than on timothy or prairie hay, or even on clover hay with a heavier feeding of corn. The practice of roughing young cattle through the winter in the expectation of making very small gains on them until they were again turned out on pasture was now used much less than before. With

clover or alfalfa hay, they could be kept growing at a rapid rate through the winter as well as in the pasture season, and that without a heavy feed of corn. This helped reduce the length of time required to bring a steer to a given weight, and was doubly economical. It is probable, however, that alfalfa in the western and silage in the eastern area would not have been economical much before 1890 or 1895. There was, at these earlier times, so much wild hay which cost only the trouble of cutting and hauling, that the additional labor and expense necessary in getting a good stand of alfalfa, or in cutting corn and filling a silo would have resulted in a higher cost of production.

Another method by which a greater return was secured from the corn was by the use of nitrogenous supplements. Corn is relatively high in carbohydrates and relatively low in protein; it does not form a well balanced ration and the gain from it is limited to some extent by the protein content. Where alfalfa or even clover is used as a roughage this lack of balance in the ration is largely overcome, since the leguminous forages are rich in protein. Nitrogenous supplements such as linseed oil meal, cotton seed meal, and, to a lesser degree, gluten feed began to be used in the nineties. Between 1900 and 1907 or 1908 the use of these supplements became common. In the early stages of adoption the oil meal or other supplement was fed very lightly. It was sometimes sprinkled over the corn and was used more as an appetizer than a feeding stuff. Later it came to be a well recognized part of the ration, and was fed at a rate of two, three, or more pounds per day.

In the equipment used in feeding in Iowa there was but little change. The use of racks in which to feed roughage increased as the value of the roughages became greater. The use of bunks in which to feed corn became almost universal, and the supplements and silage were usually fed in

the same bunks. The feed bunks varied somewhat in construction with the purpose for which they were used. They usually stood about three feet above the ground and were three feet wide, constructed of two inch planks, with a plank about six inches wide around the outside to hold the feed in. The depth, however, varied. Where much snapped corn was fed the bunks were sometimes made nine or twelve inches deep instead of six. The use of self feeders also became more common between 1895 and 1910. They were built of different sizes, holding from one to a dozen loads of corn. They were usually filled from the top and the corn ran out a narrow opening into a trough around the bottom, keeping it partly full. The self feeders were adopted by many of the larger feeders and permitted the saving of a great deal of labor.

The necessity for economy also resulted in the increase in summer feeding. This was practically unknown in the early nineties. In the late nineties feeders began to use a corn ration on grass. This permitted greater gains at a smaller cost, and increased rapidly in popularity. The cattle to be summer fed were usually started on a light grain ration during the winter.[170] In the spring they were put on grass and the grain ration was continued through the pasture season, the cattle getting as much corn as they would eat. The cattle made more rapid gains under this method of handling and could be sold in the early fall. They were sometimes wintered on a light grain ration or were bought in the spring and started on grain after they had been on pasture for some time.[171] In this case they were usually finished in the fall.

The most radical innovation in methods was in the production of baby beef. This was begun in a small way dur-

[170] Interview with E. H. Mallory of Hampton.

[171] Interview with Louis Wellandorf of Schleswig.

ing the nineties, but was not used by very many producers until about 1910. The dates are very hard to fix definitely because there was some baby beef produced each year since the nineties, and the method was taken up with varying rapidity in different sections of the State. About 1903 such papers as *Wallaces' Farmer* and *The Iowa Homestead* began to contain numerous inquiries concerning the new type of enterprise.

The economy of feed in baby beef production quickly became apparent. It also helped to occupy the farmer's time in seasons when there was but little demand for labor. Its disadvantages were that a higher grade of skill was required in handling the cattle in order to keep them on a heavy feed, and better equipment was required than where the cattle were "roughed" through the winter. It was necessary to give more attention to the younger stock, and to give it more constantly.

All farmers were by no means able to meet these conditions. Consequently many made no attempt to go into baby beef production. Many who tried the business did not succeed and soon dropped out. The new type of enterprise, therefore, grew but slowly.

As baby beef production increased, calves from good breeding stock were started on a grain ration as soon as they would take it.[172] A mixture of corn and oats was often the first feed. It was usually ground and put where the calves would have ready access to it while on the cows. During the summer the calves which were born in the spring were usually run on grass with their mothers. In late summer they were started on a ration of ground corn, or corn and cob meal, or corn and oats or bran. As soon as the calves were on full feed there might be a change of all, or part of the ration, to shelled corn. Some feeders con-

[172] Interview with William Simm of Paullina.

tinued to use ground feed throughout the feeding period. The heifers were usually finished and sold in the early summer, before reaching an age when they would be discriminated against in the market. The steers were commonly sold in the late summer. The production of baby beef was a specialized business, but usually was conducted on a rather small scale, and as a part of the general farm business rather than as the principal enterprise. Its advantages were that it permitted relatively large and efficient gains in proportion to the amount of feed used, and permitted the selling of heifers on a more advantageous basis compared with steers, since the baby beef heifer was not usually discriminated against as much as the older heifer. It also produced a higher grade of beef which commanded a premium.[173]

THE RESULTANT PRODUCTIVE COMBINATION

The methods of managing and feeding cattle in Iowa underwent a continuous and logical development. The methods existing at a given time were such as the cattle producers of that time found to be most economical taking into consideration the forms and costs of the productive factors available. Few men, probably, began to produce beef merely because they liked to work with cattle. At any rate, it is safe to say that the industry was never increased much by such a motive. The producers of cattle engaged in the business because they decided that cattle offered the most profitable method of disposing of available crops. The cattle formed a constituent part of a productive organization. The changes in the system of producing beef came in nearly all cases as results of changed economic conditions. Even the discoveries which resulted in more efficient

[173] *Farmers' Bulletin* (United States Department of Agriculture), No. 811, pp. 4, 5.

methods of feeding usually came from conscious efforts to solve problems arising from price changes or other conditions. It has already been pointed out that the system which may be most efficient and most economical at one time need not necessarily have been the best one a few years before. Changes were not always adopted because the farmers learned more, and had been ignorant of better methods previously. Usually the new system was adopted because the conditions had changed and demanded a new kind of treatment.

Even considering the methods of feeding cattle that were used after 1920, it can not be said that Iowa, as a whole, developed a standardized method. The methods used varied rather widely in the different feeding sections, and with different feeders. In the western tiers of counties alfalfa grew well, and here little silage was fed. In the eastern feeding area alfalfa was grown but little, and silage was used more heavily. In most sections of the State there was little grinding or crushing of corn that was used as feed for steers. But in small sections, as in a part of Ida County, a rather large proportion of the corn was ground or crushed.[174]

On some practices most of the feeders were agreed. For example, the larger number of feeder cattle were bought in the fall, from August to November. This was the time that the greatest number from the ranges were coming on the markets. At this period, too, they could usually be bought cheapest. More important, perhaps, from the viewpoint of farm management, this was the period in which the corn became available for feeding and the stalk fields for pasture. Unless some use was made of the stalks at this time of the year, snow and rain would spoil the greater part of their feeding values. Furthermore fall saw the closing of the

[174] Interview with R. A. Fowler of Battle Creek.

season for field work and thereafter, until spring, the farmer had time to take care of cattle or other stock.

The cattle were usually turned into the stalk fields for varying periods, depending on the intended length of the feeding period. When the nubbins were cleaned up in the cornfields, the cattle were put in the feed lot and were started on their grain ration. This often consisted at first of corn in the fodder. This method of feeding was more common in the eastern than in the western feeding area, but the practice of using fodder was slowly spreading.

The cattle were usually started on grain in the feed lot sometime in December, although the time varied by a couple of months. In the lot they were usually started on snapped corn, then changed to ear corn, and as spring approached and the corn became hard and dry, it was replaced by shelled corn. The amount was gradually increased until within two to six weeks they were on full feed. The quantity the cattle consumed per head per day depended largely on their size and the skill of the feeder. A steer of between nine hundred and a thousand pounds weight might be expected to consume a third of a bushel of corn a day, while one of a thousand to eleven hundred pounds, under heavy feeding, might eat a half bushel after the middle of the feeding period. But the feed consumption might be expected to decline somewhat towards the end of the period. If silage was fed, it was ordinarily at a rate of fifteen or twenty pounds per day. If no silage was used hay was fed more heavily, perhaps at the rate of ten to twelve pounds per day for a thousand pound steer. With silage the steer would get about two-thirds of this amount of clover or alfalfa hay.

The length of the feeding period varied from two to about eight months as extreme limits. The ordinary period was from four to six months. The cattle bought in the fall would be sold between late March and June.

SOURCES OF FEEDERS AND VOLUME OF FEEDING

The only available material on the volume of production of beef in Iowa prior to the time when the Department of Agriculture began to collect such data in 1919 is that published in the *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture* for 1909 and for 1910. These reports claim that there were 301,896 head of cattle shipped into the State in 1909, and 1,153,805 shipped out in 1910. In 1926 there were 577,426 feeders shipped in and 1,899,275 cattle shipped out. Table IV shows the number of feeders shipped into Iowa, and the total feeder movement for the whole country from 1919 to 1926. Data for this table was obtained from the *Year Book of the United States Department of Agriculture* for the years cited.

TABLE IV

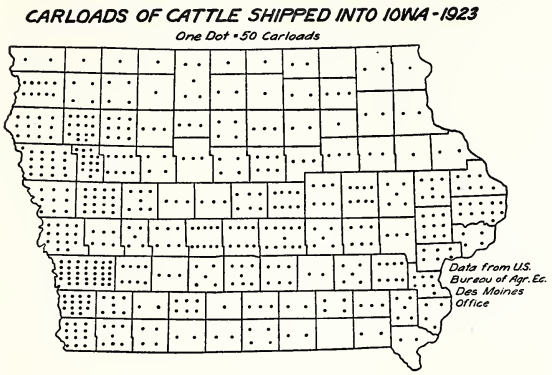
ANNUAL SHIPMENT OF FEEDERS FROM STOCKYARDS

YEAR	NUMBER OF FEEDERS SHIPPED TO IOWA	TOTAL IN THE UNITED STATES	PER CENT TO IOWA
1919	700,479	5,286,000	13
1920	471,091	4,102,000	11
1921	467,858	3,504,000	13
1922	843,911	4,864,000	17
1923	741,437	4,553,000	16
1924	570,050	3,978,000	14
1925	487,334	3,823,000	13
1926	577,426	3,712,000	16

Of the cattle shipped in for feeding, a third went into the two tiers of counties along the Missouri River south of Sioux and O'Brien counties. A fifth went into a wedge shaped area in the eastern part of the State, with its base extending from Louisa to Jackson County and its apex in Poweshiek County.

In the production of cattle as measured by the number sold for slaughter, the distribution is more uniform. There

are two districts with relatively small density of production. One of these comprises the three northern tiers of counties east of Clay County. It corresponds to the dairy district of the northeastern corner of the State, and the



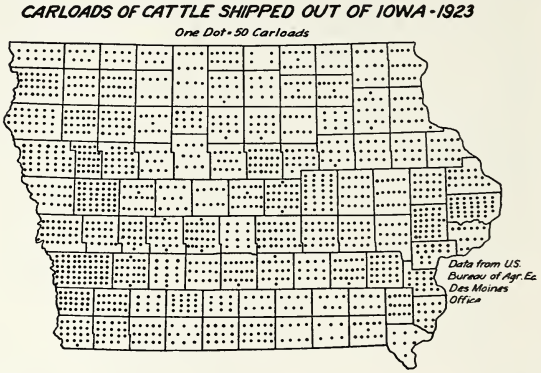
area in north central Iowa in which grain is produced heavily for sale and shipment. The other area which shows a deficiency in the production of cattle is in the southern part of the State. It covers the rough land east of Wayne and Monroe counties. In most of this section the land is of inferior quality as compared to the rest of Iowa. And in part of the district sheep are kept instead of cattle.

According to the data above, over twice as many cattle were raised in the State in 1909 as were shipped in to feed. In the period from 1920-1925 the number raised in the State was from twice to three times as large as the number of feeders shipped in.

It is not possible to trace accurately the size of the cattle feeding business prior to 1914. In the first place there is no accurate information on the feeder movement. In the

second place, little data on the home raised stock can be found.

Concerning the approximate rate of increase or decrease in the demand for feeder cattle, something can be gleaned



from the reports of agricultural societies from year to year. But this is only a reflection of the price relationships of the times, the size of the crops available for feeding cattle, and the general business outlook.

After 1896, with corn low in price and cattle relatively high, it became more profitable to produce beef than it had been formerly. Accordingly feeder cattle were bid up, and bought up much more closely than before.[175] This condi-

[175] "Cattle are coming into Iowa at a great rate in these days. We have already noticed that they are coming from every western State, and territory, from the Pan Handle and Oklahoma, as far south as the government quarantine against Texas fever will permit. And of late they are coming in by the thousands from Canada. Some 2800 head of these have been brought into Adair, Cass, Taylor, and Union counties in the last three weeks. The Canadian cattle are for the most part fairly well bred Shorthorns, under sized for their age as compared with our cattle, but of good form and fully as well bred as our own. Farmers are buying them at what seems long prices to put on grass.

tion brought about much complaint among the feeders, few of whom seemed to realize that it was largely their own bidding for the thin cattle induced by the higher prices of fat cattle, which made them so high. It did not take a very large change in the numbers purchased for feeding to bring about a considerable change in the price. The demand being rather stable and inelastic, a withdrawal of a small proportion of the normal supply may cause a considerable change in the prevailing price. An increase in the normal supply has a similar effect.

The method of feeding at this time changed from feeding in large numbers by a few men to the feeding of small bunches by the man with an average sized farm. In some sections in the eastern part of the State, there seems to have been an actual reduction in the feeding and producing of beef cattle.[176] It is probable, from the reports of other farmers, however, that much of the reduction in feeding reported as occurring between 1900 and 1905 or 1910,[177] was only relative to the size of the farm business. It was taking on other interests which grew to overshadow the cattle enterprise. As contrasted with the prevailing practice of buying feeders of nearly two years of age, the buying of

. . . So extensive has been the importation of cattle from other states and Canada into southwestern Iowa, that for the first time in the last three years the pastures are being filled up, and we found it a matter of some difficulty to secure the rental of an additional eighty acres which we had supposed could be picked up anywhere.''— *Wallaces' Farmer*, May 14, 1897.

''For some weeks past there have been practically no difference in the price of the better class of feeding steers and the lower grades of fat cattle. Some times in fact packers can scarcely get the number of fat cattle they require because of the demand for practically the same quality for feeding purposes.'' — *Wallaces' Farmer*, October 1, 1897.

176 Interviews with C. A. Round of Cedar Falls, D. J. Schnittger of Delhi, and J. L. Hall of Mt. Pleasant.

177 For example, see the data published in the *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture*, 1900, p. 471.

calves or yearlings to put on a feed of five or six months was becoming popular.[178]

There was much talk during the years from 1900 to 1908 concerning the necessity of raising the feeders in Iowa instead of buying them from the range. It was pointed out that the range supply was falling off because of settlement. Still, the general tendency seems to have been to increase the purchases from the stockyards because of greater convenience and the greater profit in so doing.[179]

The greater part of the feeder cattle were grown in Iowa and were either fed on the farm where grown, or were sold to neighbors to feed. Of the cattle shipped into the State by far the greater number came from the West. Prior to 1900, markets and packing plants had been established along the Missouri River at Kansas City, St. Joseph, Omaha, and Sioux City. These markets were between the ranges and the corn producing country. A large part of the cattle which were shipped eastward in condition to kill

[178] "An Iowa correspondent writes that he can buy choice steer calves at Kansas City weighing 400 pounds, at from 4 to 4½ cents and if some heifers are taken, a little cheaper. . . . We have recently talked with a number of feeders who have followed this method for some years with success."— *Wallaces' Farmer*, September 2, 1904.

[179] "It is less trouble to go to the stockyards, pick out a load of cattle suitable, topping several carloads if necessary and paying the difference in price if they desire to get a fancy bunch, than it is to go around among the neighbors, or hire some man to do so, and bunch up a lot of steers and heifers indiscriminately, getting them of all colors and breeding, being often obliged to throw out not merely the heifers but the unsatisfactory steers. The bunching will usually cost from 50 cents to $1.00 per head.

"Another reason is that the buyer is liable to get a better shrink from cattle in the stock yards. On the other hand, it will require more time to get cattle from the range used to farm conditions than those that have been under these conditions all their lives.

"The main reason, however, is that they can usually get better bred cattle from the best ranches than they can from the farms, and the reason why they get better bred cattle (we may as well state the facts) is because ranchmen have been buying better bulls than the farmer."— *Wallaces' Farmer*, September 19, 1902.

were sold at the slaughter houses along the Missouri. Cattle which were not yet in prime condition were also shipped to these stockyards. These were bought by feeders and were distributed to the eastward over the corn producing country to be finished. These cities naturally became the markets to which the cattle feeders of Iowa went to secure for feeding such cattle as were not produced in their own neighborhoods.

There were other sources of feeder cattle besides the stockyards. Some large feeders went direct to the ranges. The volume of this business would be very difficult to estimate. In late years there have been efforts by farmers' organizations to buy feeders for members coöperatively. In 1922 the Farm Bureau Federation of Iowa organized a department for buying stockers and feeders for members. There was also a movement set on foot at this time by which some cattle from range sections in the southwest were shipped into the State for feeding without actually being bought by the feeders. The value of the gain and a a margin of two cents per pound on the weight at the beginning of the feeding period went to pay the feeder, but the cattle remained the property of the ranchers.[180] Beginning about 1914 there has been a class of men who buy feeder cattle in the stockyards at Kansas City or Omaha, and take them into feeding sections where they dispose of them at auction. In some sections local dealers have followed the same practice. This method has not proved highly satisfactory to the farmers, because the stock sold at these auctions has seldom been of the highest grade. The "scalpers" or dealers usually buy cheaper cattle to allow more chance for profit to themselves, but the farmers prefer to secure better stock.

[180] For a discussion of this practice see *The Des Moines Register,* November 8, 1922.

VIII

THE FINANCING OF THE CATTLE BUSINESS

The early settlers of Iowa possessed little capital. As a matter of fact their need for capital was small. The prices of such implements as they required were low. Cattle and other live stock were cheap. The price of land was negligible as compared to the price of the present time. Probably the settler's greatest need was for more cattle, but this was not easily filled. There was little or no capital to loan among the settlers themselves. The settlements were a long distance from sources of surplus funds in the older parts of the country, and there were few financial connections between them. As a usual thing the early banks had only small supplies of capital and a large part of what they loaned was borrowed by them from eastern sections of the country.

Later settlers in a new community frequently needed capital to buy land. Those already established needed funds to make improvements. Capital for such purposes nearly always came from the East, the mortgages being marketed in eastern sections by the banks, mostly private banks, or by persons acting as brokers. The same condition with regard to mortgages continued for many years, and still holds true to some extent. This provided one way in which new communities could get some of the credit they needed. The rise in the value of land and the development of a mechanism for borrowing on it made it easier to obtain funds. If a settler owned his land and needed equipment, it was not difficult for him to borrow the funds by giving a mortgage on the land instead of on the equipment or live stock. Much of the working capital in use in the early sections of Iowa was furnished in this way as security.

The early cattle feeders, during the eighties, usually bought their cattle in their immediate neighborhood, giving notes for the purchase price. The notes were taken to the local banks by the sellers and discounted if they needed the money at once. It does not appear that many of these short-time notes were rediscounted in larger cities or in the East at this time. The local banks often borrowed money from eastern banks, but it seems to have been on their own paper, or by selling mortgages. A little later the practice of selling paper in larger cities grew up so that credit channels were established from the local banks to sources of credit in the East.

The reputable borrower who wished to buy cattle usually was asked for no security but his note. If the note was a large one, or if the borrower's security was not of the very best, an endorsement by another farmer or business man was usually required. Chattel mortgages on the cattle were required only of the weaker borrowers. Most borrowers considered themselves affronted if asked for a mortgage. A large personal element entered into the transactions of the small local banks, more, probably, than at the present time. The banker usually paid as much attention to the character of the borrower as to the security he had to offer, and frequently more.

The interest rates in the early communities were much higher than at the present time. During the seventies and early eighties, fifteen per cent was a very common rate in Iowa, and often it was even higher.[181] By the early nineties, the rate had declined somewhat, but the scarcity of capital kept it from falling far, and it was only after confidence was restored and the causes for the depression removed about 1896 that it declined very much. Between

[181] Interviews with J. B. Harsh of Creston, Patrick Griffin of Leon, and S. M. Leach of Adel.

1900 and 1903 the rate on short time loans reached eight per cent in most sections of Iowa, and continued at approximately that rate for some years.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATTLE CREDIT FACILITIES

During the nineties and the first decade of the new century, capital in Iowa accumulated at a rapid rate. The local banks were able to furnish a greater part of the local needs from these accumulations. Borrowing and rediscounting in eastern cities became much less frequent, but there was still considerable borrowing on mortgages. Short time needs for which satisfactory forms of security could not be given to persons outside of the community still called for most of the available local capital. Therefore, it was loaned first to the higher paying, short time users, leaving the long time credit function to be filled by eastern capital which could be obtained more cheaply than capital in Iowa.

There was, as may be expected from the above, more capital loaned to feeders than in the previous decades. But from 1890 to 1902, or thereabouts, the business of cattle feeding grew faster than available capital accumulated in local banks. Other farm needs were making demands on the local banks for loans to buy breeding stock and machinery. It was easier to shift the demand of the feeding business for capital to other sources of credit than in the case of some of the other farm needs. This does not mean, however, that the greater part of the cattle credit was not handled by the banks. In rural communities they continued to furnish the greater part of it, but other institutions grew up which took over part of this credit and gave a new direction to its development.

Between 1893 and 1897 the rural banks were short of money and cattle feeders were trying to obtain the needed

funds through commission men.[182] To relieve this situation various packer interests and banks in stockyard cities began to organize cattle loan companies. The companies were affiliated with banks and were usually owned by the same men who owned the banks.[183] They usually had of-

[182] "It is announced that arrangements have been made by the organization of the Cattle Feeders Loan Company, incorporated under the laws of Nebraska, to supply practically unlimited quantities of money to Western feeders who are able to furnish gilt-edge paper, secured on cattle and sheep that are on feed in Iowa, Nebraska, and other western states. . . . The corporation has a capital stock of $500,000, and the indications from the list of officers and directors are that the institution is chiefly in the hands of the Cudahy and Hammond packing companies. . . . The motive which leads to the organization is stated to be found in the fact that throughout the West the demand for feeding cattle is largely in excess of the local banks' ability to furnish money with which to purchase them. The intention of the new organization is to take care of the excess paper which the local banks cannot handle".— *The Iowa Homestead*, August 6, 1897.

[183] One of the well known commission firms of Chicago wrote as follows: "During the money panic of 1893-4 a good many men who wanted cattle to feed could not get the money of their local banks and obtained it of commission firms in the various Western markets at a high rate of interest. It was the means of developing a branch of the business in which it seems to me that the man who does the feeding takes all the risk and stands all the loss. A great many live stock commission men have made a specialty of furnishing feeders and stockers to farmers. In many cases they charge a commission for buying, a high rate of interest and include a commission for selling in the notes. It is safe business for the commission man who takes a mortgage on the stuff as there has almost never been a season when a fattened steer would not bring as much when marketed as he cost as a stocker or feeder, but it has had the effect of advancing the cost of stock cattle or feeders so that every man who wants to do business himself or has sufficient credit at his home bank to obtain the funds has been forced to pay more for his feeders than has been necessary if he had had only legitimate competition. . . .

"There has been considerable of this sort of purchasing at this market but there has been a great deal more done at Kansas City, Omaha, St. Joseph and Sioux City, and we think it would be well for you to investigate the matter thoroughly in all the markets, but particularly those further west.

"We are informed that there are fifty or more firms in the cities mentioned whose main, and often exclusive business is to sell cattle to farmers on time, and their transactions during the year amount to hundreds of millions. If the farmer has the yards, the corn, and the hogs, he has no difficulty whatever in buying cattle wholly on time or with borrowed money, whether he knows anything about the business of feeding cattle or not. He goes to a commission

fices in the same building, and made use of the same credit machinery as that already set up by the bank. The cattle loan company either made loans direct to the cattlemen or else acted as a broker, taking cattle paper which had been made out by commission firms. In the latter case the loan company indorsed the paper thus taking the responsibility of collecting the amounts due from the cattlemen. There was usually a margin of about two per cent between the borrower and the investor. This covered the operating expenses, losses, and profits. Contrary to the practice of the rural banks at the same time, the cattle loan companies required chattel mortgages on the cattle as security for the

merchant in any of the cattle markets, gives his note secured by mortgage, and the commission for buying the cattle, the interest for three or six months, and the commission for selling the cattle are included in the note. This note draws interest after maturity, the rate of interest counted in with the principal and to follow maturity, varying with the locality, usually eight per cent in Kansas and Nebraska and ten in the sections further west.

"No commission firm begins to have enough capital of its own to carry on a business of any magnitude, and hence these notes and mortgages are sold to brokers, many of whom deal exclusively in this kind of paper, known as 'cattle paper' or 'Kansas City cattle paper' to distinguish it from the cattle paper or notes given to the local banks for money to invest in cattle for feeding purposes.

"The broker again sells it to the banks or capitalists in any part of the United States or Europe, discounting it as may be agreed upon, sometimes at five per cent, where money is abundant, but generally at six per cent in the more western sections. The bankers at Des Moines who purchase large amounts of this paper estimate that the amount held in this city is about $1,500,000 during the year, their security being first the mortgage on the cattle; second, the guarantee of the commission man or the broker, or both. This is the origin of what is known as 'Kansas City cattle paper' so called because more of it originates at that point than at any other. . . .

"The first effect of the system was to make the accumulated capital of the East, and even of Europe, available in the remotest farm yard where cattle are fed, and to make the cattle feeder independent of the local banker who often charged him an excessive rate of interest.

"The second effect was to stimulate the feeding of cattle wherever there is corn or alfalfa, and therefore to lead thousands of farmers to engage in the business who had neither the knowledge nor the experience to make success even [probable] profitable."— *Wallaces' Farmer*, September 28, 1900.

notes. The loans were of three general types: loans on feeder cattle; on stockers, which might be cows or young stock; and loans on dairy cattle. The loans on the stockers were for longer periods than on feeders. They were mostly on range cattle, and since there was a much greater chance of loss on these cattle from hard winters, droughts, and other causes, the lenders were forced to protect themselves more carefully and did not lend as large a percentage of the purchase price as on feeders.

On feeders the loan might be for the whole price provided the farmer already had the necessary feed on which to fatten them, and was a responsible and experienced cattle feeder. The cattle paper rapidly became popular with short time investors. It was, as a rule, amply secured.[184] The buyer had the endorsement of the loan company which guaranteed the principal, and back of this there was a chattel mortgage on the cattle which were presumably on feed, increasing in weight and value every day. The period for which the paper was made was conveniently short. The paper was self liquidating, that is, the security was approaching a condition in which it would be both profitable and, in fact, necessary for the borrower to market it. When marketed, the security was almost certain to be worth more than its price when purchased. These factors added to its popularity and resulted in a rapid growth of the cattle loan companies.

Before the beginning of the loan companies in the nineties, there had been firms of commission men who did a large business of this sort, but much of it was on range cattle. In the depression in the range business in the late eighties, some of these firms became bankrupt, or at least very seriously embarrassed. The number of these was not

[184] Larmer's *The Cattle Loan Company* in the *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 820–823.

so large as to deter other companies from doing the same sort of business a few years later and with no more security or caution. As a result, many of them were seriously embarrassed in the panic of 1893. After this many commission firms stopped their credit business, especially with the ranchers, and turned it over to the cattle loan companies.[185] The capital available for loans in rural banks in Iowa continued to increase, and the need for the commission man as a credit agent diminished after 1900.

The development of the credit mechanism just described affords an excellent illustration of the way in which a credit institution may grow up in the absence of outside or governmental encouragement. There was a demand for capital for a specialized purpose—the purchase and feeding of cattle. This business had become a profitable one which could afford to pay a remunerative rate for the use of capital. In the feeding areas necessary funds were lacking. In older parts of the country there was available capital. It was to be expected that an institution to bring together the capital and the men to use it would grow up in the markets where the feeder cattle were bought, and where the immediate need for funds to purchase them arose. It is probable that the practice of obtaining loans through commission men arose by their taking would-be cattle buyers, with whom they were well acquainted, to the nearby banks and vouching for them to the banker. Later the commission man, observing the opportunity for profit, probably loaned funds of his own to the buyers, and supplemented this by borrowing money to lend at an advanced interest rate. In the market cities, banks and packers, observing the demand for credit, organized the cattle loan companies. These, using the existing credit mechanism, mobilized and

[185] Interviews with M. L. McClure of Kansas City, Missouri, and James Martin of Omaha, Nebraska.

made available to the cattle feeder supplies of capital in older sections where the owners were desirous of finding short time loans at rates which allowed a margin of profit to the loan companies and commission men.

As rural banks became stronger, accumulated capital, and strengthened their connections with eastern centers, the need for loan companies became less. Still they did not disappear. They were better adapted than banks to quick adjustment to changing conditions in the world of credit. They could find a wider market for their paper than could the small rural banks. They could operate at a smaller cost per dollar of capital loaned because of their larger volume of business. Their principal disadvantage in comparison with the rural banks was that they could not be so well acquainted with the cattle feeders, nor watch them as could the local bankers. The local banks themselves, however, made some use of the facilities of the loan companies. When they had surplus funds, they not infrequently bought cattle paper from these wholesalers of credit. This indicates that the loan companies had to some extent even displaced the banks in the handling of cattle credit. But as a usual thing the banks buying cattle paper were located in communities with but little feeding.

ADJUSTMENT OF CATTLE CREDIT FACILITIES TO THE WAR PERIOD

The adoption of the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 had little immediate effect on the cattle credit business. Most of the notes for the purchase of feeders were already being made for short periods which were acceptable to the Federal Reserve banks for rediscount. Furthermore, the use made of the system was not very extensive for a few years after its establishment. By that time there was a need for much rediscounting, the country was at war, and changes in the

form of the paper was a minor affair as compared to the increase in volume and other developments.

The cattle paper was admirably adapted to rediscounting. The notes were frequently made for three months and were then renewed until the end of the feeding period. The custom of renewal did not impose any particular hardship on anyone. The banker usually preferred a renewal rather than a note with a longer period. He seldom or never forced the selling of the cattle before they were finished and ready for the market. But he felt that he was in closer touch with the security if the feeder came into the bank occasionally to report on the operation.

With the rapid rise in the price of cattle after the war began, and with the increase in feeding that accompanied it, there was a demand for a greater volume of cattle credit. It is apparent that the inflation of credit which accompanied the financing of the war, was itself responsible for the greater part of the rise in the prices of cattle. But the prices of cattle and other farm products rose faster than those of most non-agricultural products. The increase in demand for credit on cattle was therefore quite large. There was no difficulty apparent in this extension of credit in the early years of the war. In the later years feeding did not maintain its growth in volume, and the available credit increased more rapidly than the demand. This was a further stimulus to a rise in prices.

In 1920 and 1921 there was a decided change in the attitude of the banks towards lending on feeding cattle.[186] Before those years they were very liberal in their loans. But

[186] "Corn belt bankers this year are probably exerting more influence than anyone else in determining the prices of feeders at the river markets. They have refused to stake hundreds of men except that they are able to buy a fairly good grade of feeders for less than 6 cents a pound. This attitude of corn belt bankers is in marked contrast to the position they occupied several years ago, when they financed nearly every one freely and the corn belt farmers went to the river markets and bid feeder prices up on each other, with the result that

now loans were scrutinized more closely than ever before, and were refused in many cases which would have passed unquestioned a year or two earlier. There were two principal reasons for this. The first was that many feeders had lost heavily on their feeding operations in 1920, and some were unable to repay the loans, although these were very few in proportion to the total volume of feeding. The bankers were fearful in 1921 of a repetition of this condition, and knew that if the same thing happened again, it would be much more difficult for the farmers to make good the loss than in the previous year when they still had some reserves from the profitable years preceding. They were, therefore, concerned both on the farmer's account and on their own.

The second reason was, in most cases, the more compelling one with the banker: there was little money in the rural banks to lend. During the period of rising prices the banks had not been as cautious as they might have been. Money had been loaned too freely on land at high prices, or to men who were speculating in land or other things. With the fall in the prices of the securities, these people were seriously embarrassed. They could not repay the loans, and if forced to sell the security immediately, the loss would probably be greater than if they were given more leeway and permitted to wait a year or two. At the same time the volume of deposits shrunk and reserves were seriously depleted. The banks were therefore forced to give these people more time and, meanwhile, to adopt a more conservative policy toward their other patrons. The banks usually claimed that they loaned what money was really needed by their patrons, and that they turned away no "legitimate borrowers".[187]

most feeders were doomed to serious losses as soon as they had bought their cattle."— *Wallaces' Farmer*, October 14, 1921.

[187] Interviews with Hugh Miller of Clarinda and H. F. Harsh of Creston.

The local banks received some help from the revived War Finance Corporation, which obtained funds from banks in the eastern part of the country. But the greatest help came from the Federal Reserve banks which rediscounted large volumes of paper held by rural banks. There were few banks in Iowa which did not make use of these facilities directly or indirectly. Banks which were not members of the Federal Reserve System frequently borrowed from those which were.

The commission men and the cattle loan companies also provided a means of tapping temporarily the more plentiful resources of the industrial centers. Their connections with the eastern cities were more direct than were those of the rural banks. Their paper had a good reputation, and their facilities were capable of a rapid expansion. As in the case of the rural banks the additional funds were attracted by means of a higher rate of interest. The rates rose from six per cent during the early part of the war to eight per cent late in 1920 and 1921. This was a greater increase than had taken place in the eastern cities, and it was this opportunity for making a higher rate of interest that caused the surplus of the older section to be transferred to the use of the western regions. It is not possible to tell just what amount of credit was shifted from the banks to the cattle loan companies and other agencies. No record was kept of the aggregate of the loans made through these institutions, nor of the volume of loans made by banks for the purchase of cattle rather than for some other purpose. But from the reports of the bankers, cattle feeders, and commission firms, it was probably between one-fourth and one-half of the amount usually handled by the banks.

There was also a "Stock Growers Finance Corporation" organized late in the summer of 1921 for the purpose of extending credit to cattle men. This was used more by the

ranchmen, whose paper was not so readily marketable, than by the cattle feeders of the corn belt region. About $20,000,000 of cattle paper was bought by this organization from banks in the Southwest. The funds for this pool were subscribed by banks in New York and other eastern cities.

THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF CATTLE AND OTHER CREDIT

The corn belt farmer seldom borrows to buy breeding stock. He is, therefore, slower to feel a scarcity of funds than the feeder who borrows a greater part of his capital, or the rancher who often borrows a part of the capital he invests in breeding stock. A change in the abundance of capital for short time uses is felt immediately by the farmer who is about to buy feeders. He finds, for instance, that money is harder to get, and therefore does not bid quite so freely for cattle. Or he may be a new hand at the business, and if money is tight, the bank or loan company will be less willing to take a risk on him, and may discourage him from feeding. If money is plentiful, they will be likely to loan to men who are poorer risks than otherwise.

If there is a shortage of credit, it will probably have a tendency to reduce the price of cattle, because, since fewer feeders are bought the market will be rather over supplied. At the same time the supply will be somewhat diminished by producers holding off in the hope that conditions will improve. On the other hand, if fewer cattle are put on feed, there will be a smaller demand for corn in the feeding sections, and cheaper corn will also enter into the equation which determines the price of cattle in the coming months. A shortage of credit, therefore, may be expected to have somewhat different effects depending on its severity, its duration, and the condition of other related farm enterprises.

The effect will likewise depend on the duration of the stringency. If it is brief, the only influence will probably

be brought about by the inability of some farmers to obtain cattle, as in the panic of 1907. This panic was more acute than the depression of 1920-1921, but was brief, and there was obvious cause to hope for quick recovery. The amount of feeling, therefore, declined but little. If, on the other hand, a depressed condition of business in general accompanies the stringency and persists for a considerable time, smaller production is likely to result from continued losses to the producers.

If the shortage of credit is a part of a general reaction from over expansion in other industries, it is likely to be accompanied by declining prices of beef for another reason. As large numbers of men are out of employment during the readjustment of the labor supply, their demand for beef is reduced. In this case the shortage of credit is only one of a large number of factors incidental to a general readjustment. As in 1920, it may prove actually beneficial to some of the producers for a while. In 1920 the men who were prevented by the shortage of credit from buying feeder cattle were saved from losses from the continued fall of cattle prices during 1921. Late in the period of stringency, however, when recovery was beginning, the opposite was true. Those who were able to get cattle to feed at this time made profits because the stringency and other causes prevented many men from feeding.

Cattle prices are also influenced by adjustment of the marketing mechanism. The farmer receives cash when he sells his cattle, but at least two weeks elapse before the beef is actually in the hands of the consumer, and this does not necessarily mean that the consumer pays for it at once. The packer, or other buyer of the stock, must have enough liquid capital to cover the supply of stock, as well as his pay roll and other operating expenses until he receives remittances from the retailer. By no means all of the capital

used in the purchase of live stock necessarily belongs to the packer. Varying amounts of it are borrowed. If there occurs a severe stringency so that the packer is unable to obtain the usual amount of capital, he may be forced for a while to reduce his purchases of live stock. This happened for a day or two in 1893 and again in 1907.[188] On

[188] "Under normal conditions the packer makes up the statement for the retailer Saturday and does not include the Saturday's purchases. They go over to the next week's bill. During the stringency the statements were delayed long enough to get the Saturday's purchase on the bill, and the dealer who did not pay his bill before Wednesday found his Thursday order sent C. O. D. no matter what his financial standing. . . . The live stock market is a spot-cash market calling for a payment to the farmer of a million dollars a day at Chicago and an equal amount at the other packing centers. When a financial disturbance or anything else cuts down his sales, the packer is soon forced to borrow at the banks and if funds are not available, to curtail operations. Under ordinary conditions when prices fall slightly below the normal he is ready to take all the hogs and cattle offered and put them in the coolers until conditions improve. Under the conditions existing through October and November, 1907, he could not borrow and has been forced to confine his operations to the demands of current consumption. He has put nothing in his cellars, although normally he should begin to fill them at about this time and he did begin as soon as it was possible to obtain funds. . . .

"The hard pressed packer was able to derive a special advantage from the panic situation by keeping prices to the retailer on the old level for a month while he was buying the raw material much cheaper than he had been able to get it since 1905. This wide margin of profits which the strict collections from the retailer which he insisted upon enabled him to carry on a moderate volume of business without assistance from the banks. This process was continued long enough and the margin between purchase and selling price made wide enough to secure the packer profits sufficient to pay off some of his notes and reduce his line of credit to more manageable dimensions. . . . Until November 25, retail prices did not decline. Hogs had declined $1.50 by November 21 with a gradual increase in the number killed by local butchers and more rapid increase in the number shipped to eastern markets. With the sharp break in prices the butchers and shippers became more aggressive. Men who had been out of the market for months began to buy and kill hogs instead of buying their meat from the packers. They had cash or credit to pay for $4.00 hogs even if the big packers did not, and this competition during the last week in November put prices up a dollar a hundred to the farmer. Their competition or other cause also reduced prices of fresh meats to the retailers, showing rather conclusively that the market is not in the control of any trust or combination."— Hill's *Relation of Packers' Credit to Panic and Prices* in the *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XVI, pp. 97–102.

the other hand, the packer was sometimes able at such periods to derive an advantage from the situation. In 1907, and again in 1920, the packers were able to keep the prices of meat to the retailer and the consumer on practically the old level for a short time after the prices of cattle started to decline.[189]

It is not surprising that the prices of cattle fall first in such times. The packer, like other business men who are watching the situation closely, can usually perceive the drift of the market before the consumer begins to cut down on his buying. If he has large stores of meat products on hand he will probably be relieved of the necessity of buying as much as he sells for a few days. This is no more than ordinary business caution, but its effect on the prices of live stock may be serious, coming at a time when the market is uncertain and faltering. The packers ordinarily go on the market and buy up the surplus stock to put in their coolers if the weakness of the market promises to be of a temporary nature only. But if indications point to a long continued decline in prices and depression in business, such a policy would mean disaster. The smaller the inventories are under such conditions the better for the owners, as some packers discovered in 1920-1921. The same caution rightfully prevents the farmer who has bought cattle from laying in a heavy supply of corn if he thinks that either corn or cattle prices are about to decline.

THE SPECULATIVE FACTOR IN CATTLE FEEDING

Little has been said concerning the speculative factor in the feeding of cattle. From the nature of the business, however, it is obvious that this is an important item. A

[189] "The packers in the bankers' panic of 1907 were embarrassed for a week or ten days only, when they were able to start the supplies they had in cold storage abroad, sell their foreign exchange against such shipments, and thus entrench themselves for continuing their purchases upon the market, and

very large part of the profit or loss on the operation depends on the movement of prices of the particular class of cattle the farmer has in his feed lot between the time he buys and the time he sells. Very few farmers are able to produce beef on corn at a cost which would return them a profit on the gain in weight even with all possible economies by the joint production of pork and manure. For their profit they depend on the margin or increased price on the weight of cattle bought.

Since 1902 the average spread between feeders and 1200 to 1500 pound fat steers at Chicago has been between two dollars and two dollars and a half, but this is probably somewhat more than the average margin received by the farmers, because this fat cattle price was for a grade somewhat better than the average. In each year the extreme fluctuations of price in this grade have been greater than the normal margin, but this includes differences in quality of cattle as well as the up and down fluctuations of the market. The fluctuations within the year on the same grade of cattle are usually sufficient, however, to make the difference between profit and loss to many feeders.

The greatest speculative loss or gain occurs when there is a continued movement of price in the same direction while the cattle are being fed. The more violent the fluctuations in price, the greater the speculative factor becomes. During the feeding season of 1908-1909 the change in the average price of 1200 to 1500 pound steers was only about fifty cents per hundredweight. Under this condition, the feeding business contained but little opportunity for gain or loss except from the skill of the feeder, and the relationship between feeder and fat cattle prices.

During the years of the war, the price of each grade of

thereafter the markets were well supported.''— *The Bankers Magazine,* Vol. XC, p. 360.

cattle was fluctuating rapidly, and the feeder was aware of this condition and of the risk incident to it. In the feeding season of 1917-1918 the average monthly price of fat cattle varied by as much as five dollars per hundredweight. Within nine months, falling from $14.50 in September, 1917, to $12.00 in December, and then rising to $17.00 in June, 1918. Considering that this fluctuation amounted to about $50.00 on a thousand pound steer, there was a chance for the feeder to make or lose considerable money if his feeding operations were heavy.

This risk is due to the fluctuations of the price as caused by the attempts of the producers to adjust their production to the most profitable levels, which also change continually with the business cycles, the season, and the changes in the technology of production. The presence of the time factor in the process of production makes the risk unavoidable. If the process was instantaneous, or if the feeder could contract for the sales price at the time he buys the cattle, he would have no risk except that incident to his ability as a feeder. He could then be certain that the market situation which obtained when he bought his feeders, would be the one to determine his profits. Even if the risk could be shifted, it would still be necessary for someone to carry it, as the time element, and the probability of change in market conditions can not be eliminated.

The only attempts that have been made to shift the risks in feeding have been in occasional cases where cattle were fed on contract. In these cases the feeders got the value of the gain and a margin agreed upon with the owner of the steers. This did not reduce the risk, but only placed it with one farmer rather than another. From the nature of the product, it is not possible to contract for future delivery at a stated price as can be done with grains. The variation in quality and finish of beef cattle is so great that

they must be bought and sold individually. No method of dealing in them by standard grades has yet developed.

PRESENT CREDIT NEEDS AND HOW THEY ARE MET

The raiser of cattle needs a larger investment per dollar of output for his business than the feeder, and needs it for a longer time. He must keep a slightly greater number of cows than the number of cattle he sells each year. In addition to this he must have enough capital to keep the calves to an age between one and two years. The amount of investment varies with the price of cattle, and good breeding stock costs more than the market price of cattle for beef. There is more likelihood, too, of wide variation in the price of breeding stock during the period of their usefulness. The breeding stock is also a depreciating asset, which, unlike the feeding steer, seldom increases in value as the end of its stay on the farm approaches. The breeding herd is kept continuously, whereas the feeders are kept for only a few months. The credit need of the owner of a breeding herd is, therefore, very different from that of the feeder.

Little capital is borrowed solely for investment in breeding herds. Banks can not extend credit for such long periods, and are seldom willing to take notes which they would have to renew so many times. There were no other credit mechanisms which could issue credit for such intermediate periods until recently when the Iowa Farm Credit Corporation was established, and the intermediate credit mechanism was set up by the government. As a usual thing farmers view the capital at their disposal as a unit, and if it is necessary for them to borrow any of the capital needed, they generally do so on their land, as they are able to get better terms on long term than on short term loans.

The need of the cattle feeder is for a relatively large loan

for a short time, and the loan is a self liquidating one. These circumstances are peculiar in agriculture to the feeding business. They are most nearly paralleled by loans for the purpose of making a crop. The difference between this sort of a loan and one which is made for a long time investment in permanent improvements or land is a wide one. Furthermore the types of investors interested in the two forms of credit, the inducements offered by each, and the form of credit mechanism needed in the two cases differ greatly.

The rural banks in cattle feeding sections usually extend credit for the larger part of the feeding business. These banks lend for this purpose whatever funds they have which are not in use or necessary for their reserves during the period of the year when needed by the cattle feeders. The function of the banks in this connection is primarily one of mobilizing for the use of the feeders the available capital of the community. Their business in selling cattle paper to other sections is small, and they seldom require a chattel mortgage on the cattle. Mortgages are required only of the feeders with relatively weak credit. However, more mortgages are required to-day than before the depression of 1920-1921, which made the bankers much more cautious. The loan to the farmer is usually made on his note, after he has convinced the banker that the purchase of the cattle will be a wise investment for him, that he is experienced or competent as a feeder, and that the price which he intends to pay for the feeders will allow reasonable safety in the financial operation. The note is usually for three or six months—more often for three than for six—as the banker usually prefers to have the farmer come to the bank to give some sort of a report on the feeding operation, and likes to have his records show as large a proportion of short time paper as possible.

Next to the banks, the commission firms and cattle loan companies are the most important sources of feeder cattle credit. As the business of these organizations has been discussed above it will merely be summarized at this point. The commission firm or the cattle loan company lends the cattle feeder the whole or the greater part of the price of the cattle, taking his note and a chattel mortgage on the cattle. The mortgage often covers in addition an amount of feed sufficient to finish the stock. The term of the note is usually for six months, but it may be paid at any time the feeder decides to sell. The function of the loan company is to mobilize available funds from sections outside of the feeding area and make them available to the cattle feeders. This is done by selling the notes, after the commission firm or the loan company has endorsed them to add its security to that of the farmer. The market for the cattle paper is found in banks which have surplus funds to invest for a few months and with others who wish short time securities.

The difference between the rate paid by the cattle feeder and that received by the investor is usually about two per cent. At times the spread has been even more than this, seven per cent cattle paper being sometimes sold to yield only four and a half to the buyer.[190] This seems to be the weak part of the system in that it permits too wide a spread between the borrower and the investor. Another defect claimed to exist in the system is that firms lending money to feeders to buy cattle from them have been said to sell the stock at somewhat higher rates than those for which the same grades of cattle could be bought outright.

An interesting attempt to perform the function of institutions which ordinarily finance the feeding business was the feeding of cattle by Iowa farmers for cattle raisers in

[190] Interview with Leon Goodman of Des Moines.

the Southwest. The Iowa Farm Credit Corporation arranged in the fall of 1922 for the shipping of about 4000 head of cattle from New Mexico to farmers in Iowa. These cattle were to be fed by the Iowans on contract with the cattle raisers.[191] The price for the added weight plus two cents per pound on the original weight was to go to the feeder. This amounts to the financing of the feeder by the raiser of the cattle, and the retention of all risk by the raiser. Similar plans had been tried before but without great success. A sufficient margin was seldom given the feeder to permit him to break even. The owner of the cattle was likely to be dissatisfied with the finish put on the cattle, and each party was likely to overestimate the share in the profits which was going to the other.

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[191] "Steps toward developing a method of handling cattle by co-operation between breeders and feeders were taken here last week at the request of the War Finance Corporation. They took the form of an arrangement made between the Iowa Farm Credit Corporation, and the Agricultural and Livestock Loan Company of New Mexico for the shipment of 4,000 Hereford and Shorthorn cattle from New Mexico to Iowa feedlots on contracts which do not require the Iowa farmer to make any cash investment.

"C. W. Hunt, vice-president of the Iowa Farm Credit Corporation, and president of the Iowa Farm Bureau, who handled the deal, said it opens up the possibilities of eliminating the destructive competition that has hitherto existed between stock raisers and feeders. It is provided that the stockmen of New Mexico shall bear all the costs of shipping the cattle on transit billing, while the added weight plus 2 cents a pound, which results from the feeding operation in Iowa will be the profit of the feeder. This system obviates mutually disadvantageous haggling over prices by the stock raisers and feeders in the central markets, and at the same time expedites the movement of cattle from the ranges to the feedlots".— *The Des Moines Register,* November 8, 1922.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1729-1740. Collected, edited, and translated by Dunbar Rowland and A. G. Sanders. Jackson: The Mississippi Department of Archives and History. 1927. Pp. 488. Maps. This volume is an important collection of letters, reports, and other documents dealing with the relations of the French with the Natchez, Choctaw, and Chickasaw tribes of Indians. The series begins with the Natchez Massacre of November 28, 1729, and ends with Bienville's second expedition against the Chickasaws in 1740. The translation of the documents from the French has been done very carefully by A. G. Sanders, Head of the Department of Romance Languages in Millsaps College, and Translator of French and Spanish Documents in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. According to an announcement of the editor this is the initial volume of a series concerning the colonization, development, and government of the French Province of Louisiana. The documents provide an illuminating account of the French-English rivalry for the Indian trade, and of the wars with the Natchez and Chickasaw Indians. The book is well printed and contains a good index.

The Story of the American Indian. By Paul Radin. New York: Boni and Liveright. 1927. Pp. 371. Plates. In this story the author has taken material which is found widely scattered in ethnological reports and coördinated it into a single volume for the general reader. Although it is written by one of the leading authorities on Indian culture it is not told in a technical manner. In a simple but vivid style the author presents the story of those Indian races who built up great civilizations and empires in the western hemisphere before their tragic encounter with Europeans. Such chapter headings as *The Glory that Was Maya, The Reign of the War-Gods: The Ancient Mexicans, The Children of the Sun: The Ancient Peruvians, The*

Mound-Builders, From Cliffs to Pueblo, and *The Great Adventure: The Conquest of the Plains* indicate the scope of the work.

Massachusetts Privateers of the Revolution, by Gardner Weld Allen, has been published as Volume 77 of the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Nicaragua and the United States 1909-1927, by Isaac Joslin Cox, Professor of History at Northwestern University, has been published by the World Peace Foundation.

Part II of the *United States Census of Agriculture* has been distributed by the Bureau of Census of the Department of Commerce. This volume contains data relating to agriculture in the southern States.

Volume LX of the *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* has recently been distributed to members and to libraries. This volume of four hundred and eight pages contains much historical information about men and events in Massachusetts.

The Personnel of the English Cabinet, 1801–1924, by Harold J. Laski; and *A Decade of Sino-Russian Diplomacy,* by Malbone W. Graham, Jr., are two articles of historical interest in *The American Political Science Review* for February.

Americana for the first quarter of 1928 has a continuation of *The Forgotten General,* by Albert H. Heusser; a sketch of *Thomas Coram in England and America,* by E. M. Bunbury; and the story of *Jean-Francois Coste, Chief Physician of the French Expeditionary Forces in the American Revolution,* by John E. Lane.

The American Indian, North, South and Central America, by A. Hyatt Verrill, has been published by D. Appleton and Company. The author's purpose in this book was to give an interesting and accurate account of the American Indians and to correct many false ideas about the red men.

The Record of the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Philosophical Society has been published as Volume 66 of the *Proceedings* of the Society.

The celebration was held at Philadelphia from April 27 to 30, 1927.

Peter Testman's Account of His Experiences in North America, translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen of the Minnesota Historical Society, has been published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association as Volume II of the *Travel and Description Series.*

Papers of the *Lloyd Family of the Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, New York, 1654–1826,* form the contents of the *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1927.* This book is Volume LX of the *Collections* and Volume II of the *Papers of the Lloyd Family.*

Henry Adams is the title of an attractive book of genealogy compiled by J. Gardner Bartlett for Edward Dean Adams, and privately printed in a limited edition of five hundred copies. The book discusses the English ancestry of Henry Adams and contains sketches of some of his descendants.

The Journal of Negro History for January contains the following papers and articles: *The Rise of the Negro Magazine,* by Charles S. Johnson; *The Struggle of the Slave for Physical Freedom,* by A. H. Gordon; *Henry Highland Garnet,* by W. M. Brewer; and *The Slave in New York,* by William Renwick Riddell. Under *Documents* appears *Manumission Petitions Presented to the Virginia Legislature.*

A Layman's View of History, by Henry Osborn Taylor; *Social Psychology as Liaison between History and Sociology,* by Edwin E. Aubrey; *German Foreign Policy, 1904–1906,* by Raymond J. Sontag; and *The Agricultural Reformers of the Ante-Bellum South,* by Avery O. Craven, are the principal articles in *The American Historical Review* for January. *Despatches from the United States Consulate in New Orleans, 1801–1803,* appear under *Documents.*

The *Journal and Correspondence of the State Council of Maryland, 1780–1781,* has been published as Volume XLV of the

Archives of Maryland. This volume was edited by Bernard Christian Steiner and published by the authority of the State under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society.

The Journal of American History for the fourth quarter, 1926, is devoted to articles and illustrations on the general subject of the *Sesquicentennial of the Progress of the American Revolution against British Tyranny and Infringement upon the Rights of the American Colonies.*

Volume VI of *The Rochester Historical Society Publication Fund Series* has recently been distributed. Thirty-eight articles covering a wide range of topics are included in this volume which has been compiled and edited by Edward R. Foreman. As a repository of material relating to the history of Rochester and vicinity this book is a valuable addition to the publications of the Society.

Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina, with introductions and notes by William K. Boyd, Professor of History at Duke University, has been printed as one of the publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission. The volume will be of genuine service to scholars and the general reader in forming more definite impressions concerning politics and economics in North Carolina during the eighteenth century.

The Condition of Agriculture in the United States and Measures for its Improvement, a report by the Business Men's Commission on Agriculture, has been published jointly by the National Industrial Conference Board of New York City and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America at Washington, D. C. A copy of this volume has been presented to the State Historical Society of Iowa by Congressman F. Dickinson Letts.

Agricultural History is the title of a new journal issued by the Agricultural Historical Society. O. C. Stine of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture is the editor. Two numbers were issued in 1927, but plans have been made to issue the magazine as a quarterly beginning

this year. The new magazine is an attractive and valuable addition to the growing list of historical journals in this country.

The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673, has been published as Volume VI in the *Studies in American Church History* by the Catholic University of America. This volume was written by Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., as a doctoral dissertation. The author advances reasons why the enterprise of 1673 can not be styled a "discovery" of the Mississippi River, why Jolliet must be considered the leader of the enterprise, and why the account of the expedition can not be regarded as having been written by Marquette. The evidence on which the author bases his conclusions is set forth in elaborate detail.

WESTERN AMERICANA

Lincoln's First Love?, by Paul M. Angle, an interesting refutation of the Lincoln-Ann Rutledge story, appears in the *Bulletin* of the Lincoln Centennial Association for December, 1927.

The Northwest Fur Trade, 1763-1800, by Wayne Edson Stevens, has been published as number three in Volume XIV of the *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.*

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for December, 1927, is devoted largely to material on George Rogers Clark. The January and February numbers contain much information about activities of local historical societies in Indiana.

The New Mexico Historical Review for January contains three articles: *Geronimo,* by John P. Clum; *Escalante in Dixie and the Arizona Strip,* by Herbert E. Bolton; and *Barreiro's Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico,* by Lansing B. Bloom.

Travel Literature as Source Material for American Catholic History, by Joseph Paul Ryan; and *George Rogers Clark in Ohio,* by Laurence J. Kenny, are two leading articles in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for January.

The Name of Oglethorpe, by John Morris; *The Society of Midway,* by Josephine B. Martin; and *Herschel V. Johnson,* by Wil-

liam B. Collins, are the articles in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* for December, 1927.

The *Twenty-fifth Biennial Report* of the Kansas State Historical Society, compiled by William E. Connelley, has recently been published and distributed. The *Report* includes proceedings of the fiftieth and fifty-first annual meetings of the Society.

The weekly numbers of *El Palacio* for November and December, 1927, contain a number of valuable articles on the native arts in the southwest. The double number for February 18, 25, 1928, contains an interesting description of *The Animal Dance at San Ildefonso.*

Under the title, *An Artilleryman of Old Fort Mackinac,* M. M. Quaife tells the story of Sergeant James Keating in the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for January. In the number for March, 1928, appears a biographical sketch of *The Sieur de Bourgmont* by the same author.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for December, 1927, contains the following articles: *The Outlook for History,* by Logan Esarey; *Philip Sweetser and His Times,* by George Pence; and a continuation of *Introduction and Progress of Methodism in Southeastern Indiana,* by Allen Wiley.

The last installment of *Long, Long Ago,* a story of pioneer times in northern Wisconsin, by Clara C. Lenroot, appeared in *The Wisconsin Magazine* for December, 1927. *Daniel Webster Once a Wisconsin Taxpayer* is an article of historical interest published in the January number.

The McAfee Papers, a journal kept by Robert B. McAfee in the War of 1812; and *Early Days in Campbell County, Kentucky, 1790–1850,* by Helen Bradley Lindsey, are the principal contributions in *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for January.

Lincoln in the Year 1860 and as President-Elect has been compiled by Paul M. Angle and published by The Lincoln Centennial

Association at Springfield, Illinois. This volume is a day-by-day record of the activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1, 1860, until March 5, 1861.

New Orleans and the Texas Revolution, by James E. Winston; *The Louisiana Planter and His Home,* by Louise Butler; *Capt. Ogden's Troop of Horse in the Battle of New Orleans,* by Edward Clarke Morse; and *Early New Orleans Newspapers,* by John S. Kendall are the principal articles in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for July, 1927.

The three leading articles in the *Michigan History Magazine* for January are: *Dr. Tappan, First President of the University of Michigan,* by Charles M. Perry; *The Why and Wherefores of the William L. Clements Library,* by Randolph G. Adams; and *The Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan,* by Carl E. Guthe.

The *First Railroad Built into Des Moines in 1866* and *The Founders and Builders of the Rock Island—Marcus A. Low,* both by L. O. Leonard, are two articles of historical interest in the *Rock Island Magazine* for January. *Abraham Lincoln as a Prophet,* by the same author, appears in the number for February.

The Literature of the Pioneer West, by Henry Commager; *The Unfinished Biography of Henry Hastings Sibley,* edited by Theodore C. Blegen; the *Danish Settlement in Minnesota,* by Thomas P. Christensen; and *A Swedish Visitor of the Early Seventies,* translated and edited by Roy W. Swanson, are the four articles in *Minnesota History* for December, 1927.

Pioneer and Political Reminiscences, by Nils P. Haugen; *A Packet of Old Letters,* by Florence Gratiot Bale; *Milwaukee to St. Paul in 1855,* by General Rufus King; and *A Pioneer Educator of Ozaukee County,* by Theodore A. Boerner, are the leading papers and articles in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, 1927.

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for April, 1927, contains an account of *Eminent Representatives of the Sar-*

gent Family, by Charles Sprague Sargent; and *The Election of 1848 in Ohio,* by Erwin H. Price. The number for July, 1927, has a sketch of *Charles Richard Williams,* by Lucy Elliot Keeler; and an account of the *Evolution of Ohio County Boundaries,* by Randolph Chandler Downes.

The History Quarterly, published by the Filson Club and the University of Louisville, contains the following papers and articles for January, 1928: *A Sketch of the Early Adventures of William Sudduth in Kentucky,* by W. Sudduth; *Kentucky's Overland Trade with the Ante-Bellum South,* by Elizabeth L. Parr; and *John Rogers, Revolutionary War Soldier, and His Relics in Kentucky,* by Susan Gatewood Weever.

Malmaison, Palace in a Wilderness, Home of General LeFlore, a story of Mississippi's remarkable Indian statesman, by Mrs. Lee J. Langley; and *A Journal Kept by Douglas Cooper of an Expedition by a Company of Chickasaws in quest of Camanche Indians,* with an introduction and footnotes by Grant Foreman, are the leading articles in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* for December, 1927.

The Trading Voyages of the Atahualpa, by F. W. Howay; *The Great Basin Before 1850* by L. H. Creer; *The Name of Mount Robson a Puzzle,* by Edmond S. Meany; *Fort Lawton,* by Ray T. Cowell; and *Yakima Days,* by Denys Nelson, are the contributions to *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for January. *Robert Robe's Diary While Crossing the Plains in 1851* is printed under *Documents.*

Framing the Constitution of the Republic of Texas, by Rupert N. Richardson; a continuation of *A History of the J. A. Ranch,* by Harley True Burton; *The Community Acequia: Its Origin and Development,* by Wells A. Hutchins; and a continuation of the *Diary of Adolphus Sterne,* edited by Harriet Smither, are the contributions to the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for January.

Our Indian Ambassadors to Europe, by Grant Foreman; *The Beginnings of the Theatre in St. Louis,* by William Glasgow Bruce

Carson; *The Journals of Jules De Mun*, translated by Nettie Harney Beauregard and edited by Thomas Maitland Marshall, and a *Brief Account of the De Mun Family in France*, by Marquis De Mun, are the articles and papers in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections* for February.

Pioneer Life, by Mrs. Daniel Witter; *Experiences in the West*, by George W. Thompson; *The Pecos Conference on Southwest Archaeology*, by Paul S. Martin; *The Hicklins on the Greenhorn*, by D. W. Working; *Early Days in the Arkansas Valley*, by A. M. Swartz; *The Kuykendall Collection of Cowboy Equipment*, by Philip Ashton Rollins; and *The Colorado Land and Improvement Company*, by Major Henry McAllister, are the papers and articles in *The Colorado Magazine* for December, 1927.

The *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for April, 1927, contains the following papers and articles: *Sakakawea*, by Helen Crawford; *A Missionary Journey on the Dakota Prairies in 1886*, by John H. Blegen; *The Sibley Trail in North Dakota*, by Dana Wright; and *Reminiscences of a Railroad Builder*, by L. R. Shields. The number for July, 1927, includes a continuation of *The Sibley Trail in North Dakota*; *A Trip through the Red River Valley in 1864*, by J. A. Gilfillan; and *The Selkirk Settlement*, by H. G. Gunn.

The Missouri Historical Review for January contains the following papers and articles: *The Tragedy of the St. Louis Republic*, by Walter B. Stevens; *Coal in Missouri*, by Sam T. Bratton; *The Northeast Missouri State Teachers College and Its Founder, Joseph Baldwin*, by Lucy Simmons and P. O. Selby; *Salt River*, by George A. Mahan; *The Missouri River Region as Seen by the First White Explorers*, by Addison E. Sheldon; the *Battle of Pea Ridge*, by Faye L. Stewart; and *William H. Richardson's Journal of Doniphan's Expedition*, by William B. McGroarty.

Roosevelt and Agriculture, by Earle D. Ross; *The Early Development of Commerce and Banking in Tennessee*, by Thomas P. Abernethy; *The Contract and Finance Company and the Central Pacific Railroad*, by Harry J. Carman and Charles H. Mueller;

and *General Joseph Eggleston Johnston, Storm Center of the Confederate Army,* by Alfred P. James, are the articles and papers in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, 1927. Under *Documents* appears the *Diary of a Journey to the Pike's Peak Gold Mines in 1859,* edited by Ralph P. Bieber.

A Symposium on the Place of Discovery of the Mississippi River by Hernando de Soto, edited by Dunbar Rowland, has been published as Special Bulletin Number I by the Mississippi Historical Society. The contents include: *The Chroniclers of De Soto's Expedition,* by T. H. Lewis; *Route of De Soto's Expedition from Taliepacana to Huhasene,* by T. H. Lewis; *Did De Soto Discover the Mississippi River in Tunica County, Mississippi?* by Dunbar Rowland; *De Soto at Chickasaw Bluffs,* by J. P. Young; *A Second Chapter Concerning the Discovery of the Mississippi River by De Soto in Tunica County, Mississippi,* by Dunbar Rowland; and *Where Did De Soto Discover the Mississippi River,* by Charles A. Barton.

IOWANA

The *Nashua Reporter* is printing in installments the *History of Chickasaw County,* written by J. H. Powers in 1894.

The edition of the *Lenox Time-Table* for December 8, 1927, was devoted largely to historical data about the town of Lenox and its citizens.

Chapters in the *History of Ida County,* by G. C. Moorehead, the first white boy born within the present limits of Ida County, appear in the *Ida County Pioneer Record* published at Ida Grove.

An interesting contribution to the railroad history of Iowa appeared in the *Illinois Central Magazine* for November, 1927, under the title, *Iowa and the Illinois Central.*

A booklet, *Founders of Coe College,* with a sub-title, *The Rev. Edward Read Burkhalter, D. D., L. L. D.* has been published by Coe College at Cedar Rapids. Erik McKinley Eriksson, Professor of History at Coe College, edited the volume.

Norwegian Sailors on the Great Lakes with the sub-title, *A Study in the History of American Inland Transportation*, by Knut Gjerset, Professor of History in Luther College at Decorah, has been published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association.

Dansk-Amerikansk Historie is the title of a small volume on the history of the Danes in America written by Thomas P. Christensen of Iowa City and published by the Holst Printing Company of Cedar Falls. The author discusses Danish immigration to Canada and South America as well as to the United States.

A Pioneer History of Davis County, Iowa, has been compiled and published by the Federated Women's Clubs of Davis County. The editing committee consisted of Mrs. Lena Ford-Leon, Mrs. Clay Hedrick, H. C. Brown, and Dillon H. Payne, editor-in-chief. The volume was printed by the *Bloomfield Democrat*.

Nature's Way is the title of an historical novel by Charles F. Clarke of Adel. The story begins at Adel before the Civil War. The reader follows the fortunes of the hero on a trip to the far west, then to the east and south in the days of the Civil War, and finally back to Iowa.

On the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary on November 17, 1927, the *Odebolt News* published a special edition of thirty pages. Several articles of local historical interest were included in this number. One of these was a lengthy article on *The Beginnings of Odebolt*, by Erik McKinley Eriksson, Professor of History at Coe College. Under the title *Short and Snappy Sketches*, Frank Kelley, a former editor of the paper, contributed interesting data about early settlers of Odebolt.

The *Midland Schools* continued its series of biographies of noted Iowa authors in the January number with a sketch, *Ellis Parker Butler*, by Frank Luther Mott. *Irving Berdine Richman — Historian*, by Johnson Brigham, was the biography in the February number. The same issue contained a valuable article on *Iowa Composers*, by Mrs. Louis Bernard Schmidt. In the number for March, Ruth A. Gallaher, Library Research Associate of the State

Historical Society of Iowa, contributed a sketch of *James Norman Hall.*

The *Annals of Iowa* for January contains a valuable account of *Early Iowa Newspapers*, by David C. Mott. In the same number the editor comments on the subject, *Making Our Newspaper Collection More Available*, and publishes a letter of appreciation from S. H. M. Byers, now of Los Angeles, to Johnson Brigham in regard to the latter's book, *The Sinclairs of Old Fort Des Moines.*

Sedimentation in the Mississippi River between Davenport, Iowa, and Cairo, Illinois, by Alvin L. Lugn, has been published as Number 11 of the *Augustana Library Publications* at Rock Island, Illinois. This study is a part of a comprehensive survey of the whole Mississippi River system being carried out under the supervision of A. C. Trowbridge of the State University of Iowa. The purpose of the study is to make available data and observations which will contribute to a fuller understanding of the activities of rivers in general and of the Mississippi in particular.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Anderson, Maxwell,
Saturday's Children. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1927.

Anderson, Ruth Leila,
Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays (University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, Vol. III, No. 4). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1927.

Aumann, F. R.,
Dispossession of the Tribes (The Palimpsest, February, 1928).
The Ioway (The Palimpsest, February, 1928).
Wapello (The Palimpsest, January, 1928).

Beebe, Helen Ricker (Elswyth Thane),
His Elizabeth. New York: F. A. Stokes. 1928.

Brewer, Luther A.,
Golden Days in France. Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press. 1927.

Briggs, John Ely,

The Birth of the Territory (The Palimpsest, January, 1928).

The Sacs and Foxes (The Palimpsest, February, 1928).

When Barnum Came to Iowa (The Palimpsest, December, 1927).

Brigham, Johnson,

Irving Berdine Richman — Historian (Midland Schools, February, 1928).

Chamberlain, Clarence D.,

Record Flights. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company. 1928.

Crawford, Nelson Antrim,

A Man of Learning. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1928.

Crowell, Grace Noll,

O For a Field of Clover (poem) (Century, December, 1927).

Dickinson, Mrs. L. J.,

A Woman's Day in Haiti (National Republic, December, 1927).

Eriksson, Erik McKinley,

Founders of Coe College. Cedar Rapids: Coe College. 1927.

Field, Mildred Fowler,

Woman Gardens (poem) (The Midland, January-February, 1928).

Freden, Gustaf,

Age-Grade and Progress Indices for the Public Elementary Schools of Iowa (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. IV, No. 2). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1927.

Frederick, John Towner,

Stockade (Wallaces' Farmer, January, February, 1928).

Gallaher, Ruth A.,

James Norman Hall (Midland Schools, March, 1928).

The Indian at Home (The Palimpsest, February, 1928).

The Realm of the Spirit (The Palimpsest, February, 1928).

Garland, Hamlin,
The Westward March of American Settlement. Chicago: American Library Association. 1927.

Grahame, Russell C.,
Jumbo (The Palimpsest, March, 1928).

Hall, James Norman,
Cacoethes Scribendi (The Atlantic Monthly, January, 1928).

Hearst, James,
The Contract (poem) (Braithwaite's Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1927).

Henderson, Rose,
Joseph Conrad (poem) (Step-Ladder, February, 1928).
Sea Love (poem) (Step-Ladder, February, 1928).

Herrick, Maude Zella,
Don't Call No Cops (Red Book, February, 1928).

Hopkins, John A., Jr.,
Economic History of the Production of Beef Cattle in Iowa (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, January, 1928).
When Iowa Was a Range Country (Wallaces' Farmer, January 13, 1928).

Horn, Ernest,
Most-used Shorthand Forms. New York: Gregg Publishing Company. 1927.

Hueston, Ethel,
Ginger Ella. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 1928.

Hunter, Grace,
Old J. D. (poem) (Tanager, March, 1928).

Kantor, MacKinlay,
Diversey. New York: Howard-McCann. 1928.
Pegasa (poem) (Voices, January, 1928).

Kellerton, Feza M.,
Shug the Pup. Chicago: Beckley-Cardy Company. 1927.

Kelm, William Eulberg,
The People's Theatre (The Palimpsest, March, 1928).

Keyes, Charles Reuben,
Prehistoric Red Men of Iowa (The Palimpsest, February, 1928).

Keyhoe, Donald E.,
Seeing America with Lindbergh (The National Geographic Magazine, January, 1928).

Kresensky, Raymond,
Six Poems (poems) (The Midland, January-February, 1928).

Kwalwasser, Jacob,
Tests and Measurements in Music. Boston: C. C. Birchard. 1927.

Laylander, O. J.,
The Chronicles of a Contented Man. Chicago: A. Kroch. 1928.

Leonard, L. O.,
Abraham Lincoln as a Prophet (Rock Island Magazine, February, 1928).
The First Railroad Built into Des Moines (Rock Island Magazine, January, 1928).
The Founders and Builders of the Rock Island — Marcus A. Low (Rock Island Magazine, January, 1928).

Mahan, Bruce E.,
Indian Amusements (The Palimpsest, February, 1928).
The Story of the Indian, A Pageant of Early Iowa. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1928.
Winnebago and Pottawattamie (The Palimpsest, February, 1928).

Mott, David C.,
Early Iowa Newspapers (Annals of Iowa, January, 1928).

Mott, Frank Luther,
Ellis Parker Butler (Midland Schools, January, 1928).

Neumann, G. J.,
Four Poems (Midland, March-April, 1928).

Pammel, L. H.,
Prominent Men I Have Met, Dr. William Trelease. Ames: Published by the Author. 1927.

Patton, O. K.,
Continuous Code Revision in Iowa — the Code of 1927. (Reprinted from the Iowa Law Review, Vol. XIII, No. 1.).

Pidgeon, Harry,
Around the World in The Islander (The National Geographic Magazine, February, 1928).

Quick, Herbert, (Joint Author)
We Have Changed All That. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1928.

Read, Allen Walker,
Dunglison's Glossary (1829-1830) (Dialect Notes, 1927).
Plans for the Study of Missouri Place-names (The Missouri Historical Review, January, 1928).
The Word Blizzard (American Speech, February, 1928).

Ross, Earle D.,
Roosevelt and Agriculture (The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, December, 1927).

Ryan, Calvin T.,
Why King James Still Lives (North American Review, January, 1928).

Schlesinger, Arthur M.,
Points of View in Historical Writing (The Publishers' Weekly, January 14, 1928).

Schmidt, Mrs. Louis Bernard,
Iowa Composers of Music (Midland Schools, February, 1928).

Sigmund, Jay G.,
Abandoned Church (poem) (Bozart, January, 1928).
Prophecy (poem) (American Poetry Magazine, December, 1927).

Smith, C. R. F., (Joint author)
When Iowa Was a Range Country (Wallace's Farmer, January 13, 1928).

Smith, Lewis Worthington,
Great Figures of Fiction — Ethan Frome and Anna Karenina (The Dearborn Independent, November 26, 1927).
The Puritan and Art (The Dearborn Independent, November 19, 1927).

Spaulding, E. Leslie,
Beggar's Taste (poem) (The Literary Digest, December 10, 1927).

Suckow, Ruth,
The Bonney Family. New York: A. A. Knopf, Inc. 1928.

Swisher, J. A.,
The Sioux (The Palimpsest, February, 1928).

Trachsel, Herman H.,
Proximity (The Palimpsest, March, 1928).
The Hairy Nation (The Palimpsest, December, 1927).

Tull, Jewell Bothwell,
Coquette (poem) (Braithwaite's Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1927).

Wilson, Ben Hur,
Abandoned Railroads of Iowa (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, January, 1928).

Wylie, Helen,
Omaha, Oto, and Missouri (The Palimpsest, February, 1928).
On the Warpath (The Palimpsest, February, 1928).

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

An account of the Lehigh coal mines as published in the *Lehigh Valley Echo* in 1886, in the *Lehigh Argus*, September 1, 1927.

Reminiscences of Iowa Falls, by Frank E. Foster, in the *Iowa Falls Citizen*, September 1, 1927.

When steamboating was in its heydey, in the *Keokuk Citizen*, September 2, 1927.

An ancient Algonquian village site in Fayette County, by Mrs. Walter H. Beall, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, September 4, 1927.

"The Little Brown Church in the Vale", in the *Nashua Reporter*, September 7, 1927.

How Allison got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette*, September 7, 1927.

The claim league and the settlers, by W. H. Lewis, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, September 8, 1927.

Colfax-Mormontown-Blockton, an historic sketch, by Monroe Newton, in the *Blockton News*, September 8, 1927.

The history of Pittsford Township, Butler County, in the *Dumont Journal*, September 14, October 19, 28, 1927.

History of early Mount Vernon schools, in the *Mount Vernon Hawkeye-Record and Lisbon Herald*, September 15, 1927.

The spirit of the pioneer, by Dean W. Peisen, in the *Eldora Herald*, September 15, 1927.

Sketch of the career of Judge E. B. Stiles, in the *Manchester Democrat*, September 14, 1927, and the *Coggon Monitor*, September 15, 1927.

When buffalo roamed over Jefferson County, in *The Fairfield Ledger*, September 17, 1927.

A pottery plant in Clarinda sixty-eight years ago, in the *Clarinda Journal*, September 19, 1927.

The old Mormon trail, in the *Webster City Journal*, September 20, 1927, and the *Centerville Iowegian*, September 29, 1927.

Indian mounds in Delaware County, in the *Manchester Democrat*, September 21, 1927, the *Monticello Express*, September 22, 1927, and the *Dyersville Commercial*, October 20, 1927.

Some historical data about the Thirty-third Iowa Infantry, in the *Pella Chronicle*, September 22, 1927.

The county seat fight in Butler County, in the *Parkersburg Eclipse*, September 29, 1927.

The story of old Fort Atkinson, in the *Britt Tribune*, October 5, 1927.

Pioneer post offices, in the *Sac Sun*, October 6, 1927.

Jokes, courts, and criminal procedure in early days of Butler County, in the *Parkersburg Eclipse*, October 6, 1927.

Recollections of J. B. Grinnell, by James L. Hill, in the *Grinnell Herald*, October 7, 1927.

How Thornton got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette*, October 10, 1927.

The days of yesteryear, by Charles M. Hyskell, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, October 13, 1927.

The blizzard of 1888, in the *Brooklyn Chronicle*, October 13, 1927.

Pioneer Iowa doctors, reprinted from the *Marshalltown Times-Republican* in the *Knoxville Express*, October 13, 1927.

The old Washington Academy, in the *Washington Journal*, October 15, 1927.

History of the Baldwin family of Council Bluffs, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, October 16, 1927.

When children were bound out in Iowa, in the *Jefferson Bee*, October 19, 1927.

Historical sketch of the First Baptist Church of Cresco, by C. E. Fields, in the *Cresco Times*, October 19, 1927.

Early history of Grundy County, in the *Grundy Register*, October 20, 1927.

The courthouse fight in Buena Vista County, by Judge G. S. Robinson, in the *Storm Lake Pilot-Tribune*, October 20, 1927.

A brief history of Methodism in O'Brien County, by Mrs. Pearl Thomas-Hinz, in the *Primghar Bell*, October 20, 1927.

Early history of the *Leader*, by John E. King, in the *Larchwood Leader*, October 20, 1927.

History of the First Baptist Church of Maquoketa, in the *Maquoketa Sentinel*, October 21, 1927.

Fiat money in pioneer Iowa, by H. H. Barker, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, October 22, 1927.

The newspaper history of Marion, by Grace Christie, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, October 23, 1927.

County seat fights in Delaware County, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette and Republican*, October 24, 1927.

A river tragedy of 1859, by J. W. Ellis, in the *Maquoketa Sentinel*, October 25, 1927.

Davenport and Camp McClellan in Civil War Days, by Seth J. Temple, in the *Davenport Times*, October 25, 1927.

Old times in Dallas County, in the *Dallas County News*, October 26, 1927.

History of Ida County, by G. C. Moorehead, in the *Ida County Pioneer Record*, October 27, November 3, 10, 17, 24, December 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, 1927, January 5, 12, 19, 26, February 9, 1928.

How Madrid, Iowa, received its name, in the *Madrid Register*, October 27, 1927.

Early history of Chickasaw County, by J. H. Powers, in the *Nashua Reporter*, November 2, 9, 23, 30, December 14, 1927, January 4, 11, 18, February 1, 8, 15, 1928.

Route of the first Mormon trail, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, November 2, 1927.

Interesting times when Storm Lake was young, in the *Storm Lake Tribune*, November 3, 1927.

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How Kensett got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette*, November 5, 1927.

Old Fort Atkinson, by Florence L. Clark, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, November 6, 1927.

How Iowa Falls got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette*, November 7, 1927.

The arrival of the first train at Waukon, in the *Waukon Republican and Standard*, November 9, 1927.

Early history of Nashua, in the *Nashua Reporter*, November 9, 1927.

The history of Madison township, Butler County, in the *Dumont Journal*, November 9, 1927.

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How Swea City got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette*, November 15, 1927.

Old school days in Greene County, in the *Jefferson Bee*, November 16, 30, 1927.

Pioneer Iowa doctors, in the *Sigourney Review*, November 16, 1927.

The beginnings of Odebolt, by Erik McKinley Eriksson, in the *Odebolt News*, November 17, 1927.

History of Bennezette Township, Butler County, in the *Dumont Journal*, November 17, 1927.

Early history of Afton and Howard townships, Howard County, in the *Elma New Era*, November 17, 1927.

The Danes in Iowa, by Thomas P. Christensen, in the *Ringsted Dispatch*, November 17, 1927.

Memoirs of Capt. Sam R. Van Sant, in the *Burlington Post*, November 19, 1927.

Religious beginnings in the Cedar River valley, by W. L. Ewing, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette and Republican*, November 20, 1927.

Iowa and the Illinois Central, reprinted from the *Illinois Central Magazine*, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal*, November 20, 1927, the *Le Mars Sentinel*, November 22, 29, 1927, the *Storm Lake Register*, December 1, 1927, the *Clarksville Star*, December 8, 1927, and the *Stacyville Monitor*, December 22, 1927.

A history of Iowa College, by George F. Magoun, in the *Grinnell Herald*, November 22, 1927.

Survey of the State line, as told by a member of the party to L. H. Pammel, reprinted from the *Ames Tribune* in the *Swea City Herald*, November 24, 1927.

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The Jones County calf case, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, November 29, 1927.

How Cresco got its name, in the *Cresco Times*, November 30, 1927.

Clark County pioneers, in the *Osceola Sentinel*, December 1, 1927.

History of DeWitt, in the *Davenport Times*, December 5, 1927.

History of Durant, in the *Davenport Times*, December 6, 1927.

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How Klemme got its name, in the *Klemme Times*, December 8, 1927.

Early days in Iowa, by W. T. Gunmere, in the *Afton Star-Enterprise*, December 8, 1927.

Journalism in 1885, in the *Montrose Journal*, December 8, 1927.

Early days of Lenox, as told by some of its first settlers, in the *Lenox Time-Table*, December 8, 1927.

Origin of the town of Granger, in the *Madrid Register*, December 8, 1927, and the *Dallas County News*, December 14, 1927.

A blizzard in 1866, in the *Cresco Times*, December 14, 1927.

How Sheffield got its name, in the *Sheffield Press*, December 15, 1927.

The story of the Tama Indians, by C. M. Richards, in the *Toledo Chronicle*, December 15, 1927.

Early history of Iowa City, by Julia Dondore, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, December 19, 1927.

How Monticello got its name, in the *Davenport Times*, December 20, 1927.

Stories of the Civil War, by J. L. Rodgers, in the *Montezuma Republican*, December 22, 1927, January 5, 1928.

The beginnings of Iowa City, in the *Davenport Times*, December 22, 1927.

Sketch of the career of Chancey J. Stevens, ninety-four year old mayor of Montour, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 25, 1927.

How Whittemore got its name, in the *Whittemore Champion*, December 28, 1927.

Early days in Wright County, in the *Clarion Monitor*, December 28, 1927.

Early days in Lenox, by H. Lupton, in the *Lenox Time-Table*, December 29, 1927.

How Clarence got its name, in the *Clarence Sun*, December 29, 1927.

History of the Second United Presbyterian Church of Washington, in the *Washington Journal*, December 30, 1927.

A hanging near Elk Horn in the early eighties, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, January 3, 1928.

Boyhood days in Grinnell, in the *Grinnell Herald,* January 3, 1928.

How Clarion received its name, in the *Clarion Monitor,* January 4, 1928.

A story of pioneer life, as told by Z. T. Dunham, in the *Denison Bulletin,* January 4, 1928.

History of the Congregational church at Creston, by George A. Ide, in the *Creston Advertiser,* January 5, 1928.

How Corwith got its name, in the *Corwith Hustler,* January 5, 1928.

Early days in Fairfield, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* January 6, 1928.

Newspaper history in Washington, in the *Washington Journal,* January 7, 1928.

Fort Schuyler in Emmet County, by T. C. Sherman, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger,* January 7, 1928.

Pioneer days on the western plains, as related by J. C. Harmon, Indian scout, in the *Sioux City Tribune,* January 7, 1928.

When Dubuque County harbored negro slaves, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal,* January 8, 1928.

History of the Oskaloosa band, by Charles L. Barnhouse, in the *Oskaloosa Herald,* January 9, 1928.

How Marengo got its name, in the *Davenport Times,* January 10, 1928.

Old school days at Jefferson, by Wm. S. Livingston, in the *Jefferson Bee,* January 11, 1928.

How Howard County got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette,* January 17, 1928.

How Winnebago County got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette,* January 18, 1928.

How Kossuth County got its name, in the *Emmetsburg Tribune,* January 18, 1928.

How the town of Rowan was named, in the *Clarion Monitor,* January 18, 1928.

Recollections of the blizzard in 1888, in the *Hawarden Independent,* the *Laurens Sun,* and the *Le Mars Post,* January 19, 1928.

How Titonka got its name, in the *Titonka Topic,* January 19, 1928.

How the town of West Liberty was named, in the *Davenport Times,* January 19, 1928.

How Fayette County got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette,* January 21, 1928.

How Wright County got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette,* January 24, 1928.

How Hancock County got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette,* January 25, 1928.

How Palo Alto County got its name, in the *Emmetsburg Tribune,* January 26, 1928.

How Winneshiek County got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette,* January 26, 1928.

A pioneer colony in Iowa, the story of the Hollanders, by Milton J. Hoffman, in the *Pella Press,* January 26, 1928.

How Clay County got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette,* January 27, 1928.

How Butler County got its name, in the *Mason City Gazette,* January 31, 1928.

The premium list of the Washington County Fair for 1867, in the *Washington Journal,* February 4, 1928.

The first hanging in Iowa, by G. W. Churchill, in the *Des Moines Register,* February 5, 1928.

The founder of the Mormon Church, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* February 6, 1928.

A History of Richland Township, Wapello County, by W. W. Spurgeon, in the *Ottumwa Courier,* February 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 1928.

How Deep River received its name, in the *Davenport Times,* February 9, 1928.

Reminiscences of early days in Osage, by Bert W. Talcott, in the *Osage News,* February 9, 1928.

Iowa in 1871, in the *Mason City Gazette,* February 11, 1928.

Some early Clayton County history, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal,* February 12, 1928.

Historical sketch of Butler County, in the *Waterloo Courier,* February 14, 1928.

When Roosevelt visited Jefferson, in the *Jefferson Bee,* February 15, 1928.

Pioneer days in Palo Alto County, in the *Whittemore Champion,* February 15, 1928.

How Hancock County got its name, in the *Britt Tribune,* February 15, 1928.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Oklahoma Historical Society held its annual business meeting at Oklahoma City on January 25, 1928.

The *Michigan History Magazine* is offering a two volume set of *Historic Mackinac* as a prize to the boy or girl who writes the best two hundred word letter on "The Article I Like Best in the *Michigan History Magazine.*"

The eighth annual Indiana History Conference was held at Indianapolis on December 9 and 10, 1927. A round table discussion on "Local Historical Societies" occupied one session of the meeting. The program included an address on "George Rogers Clark and Detroit", by M. M. Quaife; a paper on "The Neighbors of Abraham Lincoln in Indiana", by Mrs. Calder D. Ehrmann; a paper on "The Old New Albany and Salem Railroad", by Frank F. Hargraves; and an address on "The Early Years of Benjamin Harrison at Indianapolis", by A. T. Volwiler.

At the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society held at St. Paul on January 9, 1928, C. A. Duniway, Professor of History at Carleton College, gave the principal address on the topic, "Daniel Webster and the West". Brigadier General W. C. Brown of Denver discussed the subject, "On the Trail of the History of Traverse des Sioux", and Governor Theodore Christianson spoke on "Minnesota Backgrounds". Several speakers reported on progress made in local history work in Minnesota. Professor Charles J. Ritchey of Macalester College spoke on "Land Claim Associations and Frontier Democracy in Minnesota", and Joseph R. Starr of the University of Minnesota discussed "Some Gaps in the History of the Northwest".

IOWA

The Dubuque Historical and Memorial Association has been organized with Mrs. Lillian Clark Cary, president; J. K. Demming,

vice president; Mrs. H. B. Gratiot, secretary; and R. P. Roedell, counselor.

The Marshall County Historical Society held an interesting dinner session in January at which Mrs. Emily Sellers and L. C. Abbott recalled many amusing experiences in the early history of Marshalltown. Mrs. R. W. Stevens of Albion read a paper about Mormon Ridge, one of the many places of historic interest in the county.

The Elizabeth Ross Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution has unveiled a memorial tablet at the grave of Mrs. Eliza Carberry Pike at Kirkville, Iowa. Mrs. Pike was the daughter of Joseph Carberry, a soldier in the Revolution. The ceremony was directed by Mrs. D. H. Criley, Regent of the Elizabeth Ross Chapter.

The Madison County Historical Society has recently incorporated under the laws of Iowa. This act gives the association legal authority to buy and sell property, accept bequests, and the like. The Society has recently acquired a new room in the Madison County courthouse where its collections can be exhibited effectively. A complete catalogue of the exhibits has recently been completed.

The James Harlan Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution marked two historic spots at Mount Pleasant on February 12, 1928. A bronze tablet was placed on the site of the first home in Mount Pleasant and another on the site where the first church services were held and the first school was taught. Miss Mae Felton, Regent of the James Harlan Chapter, had charge of the dedicatory services.

A plate marking the grave of Nancy Russell Barker, whose father served in the Virginia Line during the Revolution, was unveiled at Indianola by the Martha Devotion Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on January 3, 1928. Mrs. Charles G. Saunders of Council Bluffs, State Regent, gave the principal address on this occasion.

At the November meeting of the Howard County Historical Society, J. W. Conway of Elma gave a sketch of pioneer days in Afton and Howard townships. John Murtha of Cresco presented the Society with pictures and relics of the Civil War from the home of the late H. A. Kinne. C. A. Lang of Bluffton presented a set of old-fashioned steelyards to the Society; J. H. Craghill added an old medicine spoon to the collection and a millstone from the old flouring mill at Spillville. At a subsequent meeting James H. Smith gave a review of the historical sketch of Howard Center Township written by Laban Hasset in 1877.

The eighth annual conference of the teachers of history and the social studies in the schools and colleges of Iowa and neighboring States was held at the State University of Iowa at Iowa City on February 3, 4, 1928. Claude H. Van Tyne, Professor of History at the University of Michigan; William E. Dodd, Professor of History at the University of Chicago; Mary S. Gold, of the University High School, University of Minnesota; and John A. Kinneman, Professor of History at the Illinois State Normal University, were speakers on the program from outside the State. Bessie M. Pierce, Clara M. Daley, and Frederick B. Knight of the University of Iowa were the local contributors to the session.

The annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held in Des Moines, April 26–28, 1928. Extensive preparations for the entertainment of those attending the meeting have been made by the local committee headed by Edgar R. Harlan of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, and O. B. Clark of Drake University. One session of the program will be devoted to State historical work, and another for history teachers will deal with the present movement to "Americanize" the teaching of history. One session will deal with the topic "The Early West", another with "The Middle Border", and a third with "The Last Frontier".

On February 12, 1928, the Hannah Caldwell Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution unveiled bronze memorial tablets marking three historic spots at Davenport. One of these

marked the location of the western end of the first bridge across the Mississippi River; another, the site of the battle of Credit Island in the War of 1812; and the third, the site of Camp McClellan, a concentration center for Iowa troops during the Civil War. At the exercises dedicating these tablets addresses were made by Mrs. C. G. Saunders of Council Bluffs, State Regent, Colonel D. M. King, Commanding Officer at the Rock Island Arsenal, Mrs. L. S. Dorchester, State Chairman of the Historic Spots Committee of the D. A. R., and by Harry Downer, local historian. The marking of these historic spots was due in no small measure to the efforts of Mrs. E. H. Hall, Regent of the Hannah Caldwell Chapter.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Bruce E. Mahan, Associate Editor of the State Historical Society, addressed the Rotary Club of Iowa City on "Dramatic Episodes in Early Iowa History" on December 8, 1927. Mr. Mahan gave a similar address before the Lions Club of Iowa City on February 15, 1928.

The Sheepeater Campaign, reprinted from the Tenth Biennial Report of the Idaho Historical Society, and *The Diary of a Captain*, reprinted from the *Souvenir Book of the Campaign of Santiago de Cuba*, have been presented to the State Historical Society of Iowa by the author, Brigadier General W. C. Brown.

Leonard Fletcher Parker, a biography by J. A. Swisher, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, has been distributed by the Society to members and to libraries. A history of the Iowa Department of the American Legion by Mr. Swisher is nearing completion. This is a comprehensive survey of the activities of the American Legion and its Auxiliary.

The third annual Iowa History Week, April 16-21, will be observed by women's clubs, junior and senior high schools, service clubs, and patriotic organizations throughout Iowa. The idea of observing the third week in April as Iowa History Week was inaugurated in 1926 by the State Historical Society in coöperation

with the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs. The purpose of the movement is to stimulate a greater interest in the history of Iowa. Through the efforts of the Iowa History Committee of the Federation, interest in the project became so widespread that it has been made an annual event.

Attention will be centered on the Indians of Iowa during the third Iowa History Week. The February number of *The Palimpsest,* which has been sent to high schools and clubs throughout Iowa, was devoted exclusively to articles on this subject.

A pageant, *The Story of the Indian,* has been published and distributed by the State Historical Society for use as a high school assembly program.

The State Historical Society and the State University will cooperate in presenting the following radio program from Station WSUI during Iowa History Week:

Monday, April 16, 5:30 P. M.—"Indian Tribes of Iowa", by John E. Briggs, Editor of *The Palimpsest.*

Tuesday, April 17, 12:25 P. M.—"Indian Chiefs of Iowa", by J. A. Swisher, Research Associate, State Historical Society of Iowa.

Wednesday, April 18, 12:25 P. M.—"The Indian at Home", by Ruth A. Gallaher, Library Research Associate, State Historical Society of Iowa.

Thursday, April 19, 12:25 P. M.—"How the Indians Lost Iowa", by Bruce E. Mahan, Associate Editor, State Historical Society of Iowa.

Friday, April 20, 9:10 A. M.—(High School Assembly Program) "Indian Amusements", by Bruce E. Mahan. Musical numbers by Anne Pierce and Frances Camp.

Saturday, April 21, 11:15 A. M.—"Prehistoric Red Men", by Charles R. Keyes, Director of the State Archeological Survey, State Historical Society of Iowa.

Monday, April 23, at 8:00 P. M.—"The West in Song and Story", by Isabel Garland and Hardesty Johnson of New York City.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. E. E. Menefee, Hawarden, Iowa; Mr. J. A.

Swisher, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. R. M. Hughes, Ames, Iowa; Miss Cecil Kilgore, Guthrie Center, Iowa; Mr. Otho R. Laird, Nashua, Iowa; Miss Velda May Nye, Blockton, Iowa; Miss Hazel G. Siberts, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mr. Lial Sutherland, Storm Lake, Iowa; Mr. Miles T. Babb, Chicago, Illinois; Rabbi Morton M. Berman, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Joseph H. Bleasdell, Holstein, Iowa; Dr. Thos. A. Burcham, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. H. H. Davis, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Lura B. Diehl, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Miss Lavina Dragoo, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mrs. Mary J. Fisher, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Dr. Daniel J. Glomset, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. John A. Guiher, Winterset, Iowa; Mr. Wilbur H. Hansen, Holstein, Iowa; Miss Ella A. Harding, Marion, Iowa; Dr. A. S. Hayden, Wall Lake, Iowa; Mr. A. R. Hellings, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mr. F. W. Hinkhouse, West Liberty, Iowa; Mr. Fred A. Hinrichsen, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Geo. M. Hopkins, Guthrie Center, Iowa; Dr. G. A. Huntoon, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Samuel James, Jr., Springville, Iowa; Dr. G. W. Kester, Grand Junction, Iowa; Mr. Lee Lowenberg, Wadena, Iowa; Mrs. William Moore, Davenport, Iowa; Dr. A. C. Page, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Dillon H. Payne, Bloomfield, Iowa; Mr. Roswell H. Pickford, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. John W. Rath, Waterloo, Iowa; Mrs. A. R. Smith, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mr. G. W. Stillman, Algona, Iowa; Dr. P. E. Stuart, Nashua, Iowa; Mr. B. O. Tapper, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Otho S. Thomas, Rock Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Joel Tuttle, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Loyd H. Watts, Odebolt, Iowa; and Mr. E. A. Wissler, Carroll, Iowa. Mr. Justin Barry of Cherokee, Iowa, has been enrolled as a life member.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Pioneer Club, composed of men who have lived at least forty years in Iowa, and twenty-one years in Des Moines, held its annual dinner at the Hotel Fort Des Moines on January 21, 1928.

Harlow Lindley, for many years librarian and head of the department of history at Earlham College, has resigned to accept the position of librarian at the President Hayes Memorial Historical Library and Museum at Fremont, Ohio.

Clarence W. Alvord, who for many years has been prominent in historical circles of the Middle West, died in Italy on January 27, 1928. He served as professor of history at the universities of Illinois and Minnesota. As a scholar, teacher, and writer he occupied a high rank among American historians.

L. B. Schmidt, Head of the Department of History and Government at Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Ames, will give courses in Economic History and the History of International Relations at the University of Alabama during the summer session of 1928.

At the State meeting of the Iowa Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution held in Des Moines, March 5-7, 1928, Mrs. Wilson Hamilton of Sigourney was elected regent, Mrs. L. S. Dorchester of Clear Lake, recording secretary; Mrs. B. C. Higgins of Spencer, librarian; Mrs. D. Cyrus Wolfe of Hampton, auditor; and Mrs. J. D. Newcomer of Eldora, chaplain.

Officers of the United States Daughters of 1812 for the coming year were elected at a meeting held in Des Moines on March 7, 1928. Mrs. Eugene Henely of Grinnell was chosen president; Mrs. R. H. Munger of Sioux City, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Luella R. Crooks of Boone, auditor. New directors are Mrs. Drayton Bushnell of Council Bluffs, Miss Mae Ferguson of State Center, Mrs. Martha Stapleton of Mediapolis, and Mrs. George Spangler of Winthrop.

CONTRIBUTORS

Henry Stephen Lucas, Associate Professor of History at the University of Washington, Seattle. (See The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for October, 1924, p. 608.)

John Abel Hopkins, Jr., Associate Professor of Agricultural Economics at Iowa State College, Ames. (See The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for January, 1928, p. 168.)

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THE STATE PARKS OF IOWA

The term *conservation* as used to-day is of recent origin. It was scarcely known before 1907.[1] But it has since become a national slogan, the symbol of a great and growing national movement for the conservation of not only forests and scenery but also water power, all forms of wild life, and human life as well.[2]

Though of so recent origin the roots of the conservation movement may be traced back to the Colonial period when New Hampshire passed legislation to protect her forests and when William Penn decreed the setting aside of wood lots.[3] The beginnings of a national policy of conservation may be said to have been made when Congress in 1817 authorized the Secretary of the Navy to reserve certain lands producing live oak and red cedar for the purpose of supplying the navy.[4] Supplementary legislation to the act of 1817 was passed in 1831.[5]

The conservation of scenery and development of forests were much discussed subjects in the seventies[6] when Congress "set apart as a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people" an extensive tract of wild grandeur lying mainly in the northwestern corner of the present State of Wyoming, and also passed the

[1] Pinchot's *The Fight for Conservation*, pp. 41, 132, 133.

[2] Taylor's *Conservation of Life Through City Parks* in *Transactions of Iowa Horticultural Society*, 1918, pp. 376–378.

[3] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1902, p. 63.

[4] Muir's *Our National Parks*, pp. 340, 341; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, pp. 347, 348.

[5] *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 472.

[6] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1902, p. 86.

"Timber Culture Act", which in consideration of planting a few acres of seedlings, gave settlers on the treeless plains 160 acres each.[7] Under this act nearly 50,000 acres of "stunted, woebegone, almost hopeless sprouts of trees"[8] were added to the millions of acres of magnificent native forests the conservation of which was made a national policy by the forestry act of 1891 which authorized the President to set aside public lands more valuable for forests than agriculture as national reserves.[9] Real progress was made during the following decade. At the turn of the century there were seven national parks — Hot Springs, Yellowstone, Yosemite, Casa Grande, General Grant, Sequoia, and Mount Rainier — besides thirty-eight forest reserves.[10]

At that time the champions of a really effective conservation policy became more numerous. Major John F. Lacey of Iowa, who for years had stressed conservation, was a leader in this movement. President Roosevelt penned his virile conservation message to the Congress which met in December, 1901.[11] In the same year John Muir published his truly charming volume on *Our National Parks.* The contents of this plea for conservation had been published before in the *Atlantic Monthly.*[12] And in 1910 Gifford Pinchot sounded his clarion call to friends of conservation through his little book, *The Fight for Conservation.* The chapters of this book had also formerly appeared in the magazines.[13] How fruitful of results this recent phase of

[7] *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. XVII, pp. 32, 33.

[8] Muir's *Our National Parks,* p. 342.

[9] *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. XXVI, p. 1103.

[10] Muir's *Our National Parks,* pp. 12, 368.

[11] Pammel's *Major John F. Lacey Memorial Volume,* pp. 36–47; Thayer's *Theodore Roosevelt,* p. 236.

[12] Muir's *Our National Parks,* preface.

[13] Pinchot's *The Fight for Conservation,* title page and introduction.

the conservation movement was may be seen in the large increase in the number of national parks after 1901. In 1924 there were eighteen such "pleasuring grounds"[14] besides a larger number of forest reservations, now becoming even more popular with tourists for summer camping and tramping than the national parks.[15] The automobile has been a big factor in this development.

The contagion of the conservation spirit of the seventies was marked in the States by the passage of forestry legislation and the formation of forestry associations.[16] Iowa had passed a treeplanting act in 1868 which held forth a moderate tax reduction as an inducement to the planting of small tracts of fruit and forest trees. For every acre of fruit trees of a certain number to the acre planted and cared for there was an exemption of fifty dollars assessed valuation a year for five years from the time of planting; and for every acre of forest trees there was an exemption of one hundred dollars a year for ten years.[17] Under this law reserves were planted in seventeen prairie counties of the State.[18]

In the nineties successful efforts were made in the States to establish State parks. The legislature of Minnesota set apart nearly twenty thousand acres of wild forest land around Lake Itasca — the source of the Mississippi — as a public park in 1891.[19] Four years later the tract for the Inter-State Park commonly known as "The Dalles of the St. Croix" was acquired by the States of Minnesota and

[14] *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. I, pp. 422–425.

[15] Pammel's *Parks for the People* in *Transactions of Iowa Horticultural Society*, 1924, Ch. LIX, pp. 37–39.

[16] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1902, p. 66.

[17] *Laws of Iowa*, 1868, Ch. 92; *Code of 1873*, Sec. 798.

[18] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1902, p. 16.

[19] *The Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota*, 1899, p. 219.

Wisconsin from the Federal government.[20] About the same time California and other States also began movements looking towards the establishment of State parks.[21]

But these States had large areas of primitive forests unfit for agriculture. Iowa never had but a comparatively small area of woodlands — originally about six per cent of its total.[22] Most of the Federal government lands of the State had been sold before 1877 when only about two thousand acres remained unsold in the northwestern counties,[23] the last to be opened for settlement. For these reasons State parks for Iowa appeared not to have been thought of before 1895 and no organized efforts were made to achieve such ends before 1901.[24]

In 1895 Professor Thomas H. Macbride made what seems to have been the first definite appeal for public parks in Iowa — outside of city parks — in a paper published in *The Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Sciences.* Though consisting only of a few pages it is a real classic in the history of conservation in Iowa. Professor Macbride points out a threefold necessity for public parks: (1) they would directly affect health and happiness; (2) they were valuable for the education of the people; (3) and they would help to preserve to other times and men something of primeval nature. The Caves in Jackson County, the Backbone in Delaware County, Wild Cat Den in Muscatine County, Gray's Ford in Cedar County, and Pinney's Spring in Allamakee County were mentioned as favorable sites to be "de-

[20] *The Legislative Manual of the State of Minnesota,* 1899, p. 251.

[21] Muir's *Our National Parks,* p. 346; Macbride's *County Parks,* p. 95.

[22] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association,* 1901, p. 51.

[23] *History of the Counties of Woodbury and Plymouth, Iowa,* p. 191.

[24] Robeson's *Special Charter Cities in Iowa,* pp. 91, 92; Macbride's *County Parks,* pp. 91–95; *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association,* 1902, p. 6.

voted to public enjoyment, purely to the public happiness, a holiday ground for country- and city-folk alike." Of the value of public parks Macbride thus spoke in no uncertain tones, but he despaired somewhat at projecting practical methods for acquiring them, so many of the desirable tracts being private property.[25]

On November 10, 1901 — the very year in which the noted advocates of national conservation made their appeals with such telling consequences — there appeared in the *Iowa State Register* and other newspapers of the State a notice to friends of conservation. It read:

> There will be a preliminary meeting in Ames on Saturday afternoon, November 16, at 1 P. M., in the rooms of the Horticultural department, Agricultural hall, for the purpose of organizing an Iowa Park and Forestry Association. You are cordially invited to be present.
>
> L. H. Pammel.[26]

The meeting was attended by little more than a dozen people. It chose temporary officers, drew up a constitution, and issued a call for another meeting to be held in the parlors of the Hotel Kirkwood, Des Moines, on December 10th and 11th. The temporary officers elected were: Professor T. H. Macbride, Iowa City, president; Wesley Greene, Dav-

An early note of conservation was struck by T. S. Parvin in 1857, then Register of the State Land Office, when in a report respecting the "beautiful wooded eminences" around the capitol he pleads for a State policy "to 'spare the trees,' protect and improve the grounds by a good, substantial fence, and otherwise, and guard against that vandalism which pervades so generally in this State to destroy, that the succeeding generation may have something to do in repairing their ravages. Better, far better, at less labor and expense, preserve the beautiful groves of native growth, than in after years expend greater sums to replace them."— *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XIII, pp. 470, 471. This item was discovered in the State archives by E. R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa.

[25] Macbride's *County Parks* in *The Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science*, 1895, pp. 91–95.

[26] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1901, p. 4.

enport, vice president; L. H. Pammel, Ames, secretary; Silas Wilson, Atlantic, treasurer; and members of the executive board — C. A. Mosier, Des Moines; Professor H. C. Price, Ames; George H. Van Houten, Lenox. Others in attendance at the Ames meeting who became charter members of the Association were: J. L. Budd, A. T. Erwin, E. E. Little, and J. Sexton, Ames; A. Hoffman, Des Moines; G. F. Parker, Hartford, Connecticut; and W. F. Thompson, Cambridge.[27]

The objects of the Association as set forth in the constitution were:

> To create an interest in, and to encourage the establishment of parks; the beautifying of our cities, the better care of cemeteries, the planting of trees in country homes for aesthetic purposes as well as for the supply of timber for commerce; the proper utilization of our remaining timber, and to assist in the inauguration of rational methods of forest management and thus help in the protection of our wild game and song birds; the creation of one or more state parks in the vicinity of our lakes and streams; to encourage state and national legislation for rational forest management, and the creation of more forest reserves.[28]

In accordance with this last plank of the Association's platform, resolutions on national forest reserves were passed at the Des Moines meeting recommending Congress to establish reserves in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the Rocky Mountain region in order to save and restore the forests, to conserve moisture, and to protect and preserve wild game. Furthermore the resolutions proposed that Congress should purchase land for a national park in the southern Appalachians; that public lands more valuable for forest uses than for other purposes should be withdrawn

[27] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1901, pp. 4–6, 8; Macbride's *The Present Status of Iowa Parks*, 1922, p. 3.

[28] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1901, pp. 4, 5.

from settlement, entry, sale, or other disposition; that the President should be given the power of making such withdrawals without approval or further action of Congress; and finally that a national system of forestry should be established.[29]

Any person interested might become a member of the Association by signing the constitution and by-laws and paying a dollar annually. At or soon after the Des Moines meeting there appeared on the membership roll the additional names of J. C. Blumer, Luverne; W. M. Bomberger, Harlan; M. K. Brumagin, Ames; W. A. Burnap, Clear Lake; W. C. Donelsen, Ogden; A. Duebendorfer, Ames; J. T. D. Fulmer, Des Moines; G. M. Lummis, Ames; Elmer Reeves, Waverly; E. G. Ritzman, Maquoketa; T. G. Roberts, Marathon; Eugene Secor, Forest City; De La Sheldon, Ames; B. Shimek, Iowa City; S. W. Stevens, St. Louis, Missouri; and C. L. Watrous, Des Moines. The following persons were chosen as honorary members: W. H. Barnes, Topeka, Kansas; D. C. Converse, Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin; Mr. Emery, Nebraska; Professor N. E. Hansen, Brookings, South Dakota; H. C. Klehm, Arlington Heights, Illinois; and G. W. Latham, Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Association voted to affiliate with such national associations as the American Forestry Association, the American League for Civic Improvement, and the American Park and Out Door Association.[30]

Since the State was at this time wholly without forestry laws, the Des Moines meeting drew up a bill very similar to the older treeplanting law. It provided for a tax exemption on small reserves of fruit and forest trees and recommended that the Secretary of the Iowa State Horticultural Society should be made State Forestry Commissioner without

[29] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1901, pp. 7, 8.

[30] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1901, pp. 4, 5, 9.

salary. The bill was approved by the Iowa Academy of Science and was passed by the House of Representatives but failed in the Senate, there being no unanimity of opinion as to the best methods of promoting forestry in the State.[31]

Defeat was only a spur to renewed exertions. After a few years of investigation and discussion the Association prepared a new bill which was passed by the House and also by the Senate due in part to the effective services of Representative R. J. Bixby and Senator George W. Dunham. On April 10, 1906, it received the executive approval.[32]

This "Act to encourage the planting of forest and fruit trees in the state of Iowa" defines a forest reservation as a tract of land of not less than two acres, each bearing at least two hundred growing trees of certain species — ash, black cherry, black walnut, catalpa, coffee tree, elms of various kinds, hackberry, hickories, honey locust, mulberry, oaks, sugar maple, European larch and other coniferous trees, and all other forest trees introduced into the State for experimental purposes. Artificial groves containing willows, box-elder, soft maple, cottonwood and other poplars might classify as forest reserves. The act defines fruit tree reserves as tracts containing not less than one nor more than five acres bearing not less than seventy trees to the acre of the various varieties of apples, crabs, plums, cherries, peaches, and pears. Live stock was not permitted in the reserves and dead trees were to be replaced. If the owners of the reserves complied with these and other conditions they were granted tax exemptions, each forest re-

[31] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1901, pp. 54–56, 1902, pp. 13–15.

[32] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1901, pp. 21–24, 1904, p. 44, 1905, p. 59, 1906, pp. 11, 12; letter from Professor L. H. Pammel to Bruce E. Mahan, dated November 8, 1927.

serve being taxed only on a valuation of one dollar per acre beginning two years after its establishment; and each fruit tree reservation on the same valuation for eight years from the time of planting. Finally the act also made the Secretary of the Iowa State Horticultural Society, State Forestry Commissioner.[33]

In the passage of the "Treeplanting Act" the Association scored a real and well-deserved triumph. Not so with respect to that other part of its program which dealt with the establishment of public parks. This was not because the members of the Association were less ardent in stressing the need and value of parks. Already in 1902 the Association's president, Professor Macbride, had sent out numerous copies of a questionnaire relative to the park situation. Out of more than one hundred and fifty replies only six towns reported no park or public square at all. But only a very few cities had well-developed parks systems, and of course there were no county or State parks. In some towns, the replies stated, the cemeteries were used as parks. "How long", comments Macbride, "shall it be said of this proud and wealthy commonwealth that her weary sons and daughters of toil if they would go forth to recreation — recreation mark you — must betake themselves to the cemetery? It is enough to breed anarchists and suicides, the situation as we see it now."[34] This comment was quoted widely throughout Iowa.

Prompted by such appeals the Association recommended that Capitol Hill be made a State park[35] and that a law be enacted giving townships and counties the right to purchase

[33] *Laws of Iowa*, 1906, Ch. 52. About 1919 there were 16,000 acres of forest reservations in Iowa under the care of more than 800 people.— *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. 264, 265.

[34] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1902, pp. 1–13.

[35] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1903, p. 5.

land for parks.[36] But the public was not alive to the need of them. There was determined opposition to the use of public funds for such purposes and the efforts of the Association to obtain $25,000 for a State park at Camp McClellan, Davenport, were unavailing.[37]

Members of the Association discovered that certain State lands would be of great value in the development of a State park system, namely the meandered lakes and streams. These had not been included in the Federal survey prior to the public land sales. Later they had been turned over to the State, which, however, owned only the beds of somewhat uncertain area since the line of meander — line between private and public ownership — was in many cases difficult to determine. Private ownership was encroaching on this species of public property since some of the lakes were being drained in which case the owners of the shores had the priority of purchase. In this manner some of the shallower lakes had become private property. But in the first decade of the present century there still remained about a hundred meandered lakes among which were the Spirit Lake or Okoboji group of lakes, Dickinson County; Clear Lake, Cerro Gordo County; Storm Lake, Buena Vista County; Wall Lake, Sac County; Medium, Swan, and Turtle lakes in Emmett County; Elm Lake, Wright County; Lost Island Lake, Palo Alto County; Twin Lakes, Calhoun County; Manawa Lake, Pottawattamie County; Sol. Smith Lake, Harrison County; and Blue Lake, Monona County. All were valuable from the standpoint of recreation and the conservation of wild life especially if the shores could be purchased in whole or in part. In 1910 Professors Thomas H.

[36] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1903, p. 20.

[37] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1904, p. 4; Lazell's *Some Autumn Days in Iowa*, pp. 39, 40; Pammel's *The Cost of Purchasing Interesting Spots in Iowa for State Parks* in *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. I, p. 11.

Macbride and Bohumil Shimek in a report of the Iowa State Drainage Waterways and Conservation Commission urged that the lakes of Iowa be at the earliest moment placed under special jurisdiction and that the interests of the State would be best conserved if the care of each lake or group of lakes should be placed in the hands of a custodian who should be empowered to represent the State in any case and to enforce such regulations for the control of public waters as might from time to time be enacted.[38]

The meandered streams included the Des Moines, the lower Raccoon, Iowa, Cedar, Wapsipinicon, Turkey, Skunk, Big Sioux, Maquoketa, Nishnabotna, Mississippi, and Missouri with hundreds of islands.[39] Much of the land along these rivers is too low or too rough to be of value for agriculture while it might be made very valuable as forest and game reserves or as parks. Suggestions to this effect had been made by Professor Shimek as early as 1905 and they were again made and elaborated on five years later by Professor Macbride who advocated a diversion of a part of the hunters' license fund for that purpose.[40]

[38] Macbride and Shimek's *The Conservation of Iowa Lakes, Streams and Woodlands* (1910), pp. 1–13; *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association,* 1904, pp. 85–89, 1905, pp. 42, 43.

[39] *Census of Iowa,* 1925, pp. lxx–lxxii; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, p. 124. In July, 1923, the State Board of Conservation began the publication of a quarterly magazine under the title, *Bulletin Iowa State Parks.* Four volumes of this magazine appeared under the able editorship of Professor L. H. Pammel. Publication of the magazine was discontinued by the Board with the issue for March-April-May-June, 1927. Professor Pammel is the author of most of the articles in this magazine to which reference is made in these notes. He is also the author of the following valuable booklets on State parks: *Ledges State Park; Eldora Pine Creek State Park; Dolliver Memorial State Park;* and *Pilot Knob State Park, Merrick State Park, Eagle Lake State Park, Rice Lake State Park, and Crystal, East and West Twin, and Duck Lakes.*

[40] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association,* 1905, pp. 17–20; Macbride and Shimek's *The Conservation of Iowa Lakes, Streams and Woodlands,* pp. 17–24.

It was so easy "to propose" and as usual so difficult "to dispose". No action was taken by the General Assembly where there was a willing House, but a reluctant and indifferent Senate. After a decade and more of agitation and investigation the Association had no other tangible results to its credit in the way of legislation than the treeplanting act. But in creating and constantly stimulating interest in forests, parks, and other phases of conservation it proved its strength. Included in its membership had been leading scientists, farmers, horticulturists, "some poets and now and then a man versed in the way of politicians."[41] From the time of its organization it had offered "a day in court" to every enthusiastic conservationist through its annual meetings, the prizes it offered and awarded for papers on nature and conservation subjects,[42] and especially through the seven excellent volumes of *Proceedings* published from 1901 to 1907. It had affiliated with or had the support of such efficient allies and associates in the State as the Iowa Academy of Science,[43] the Iowa Horticultural Society,[44] and the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs which had a special division on natural scenery. The local women's clubs all over the State also took up the work. Several of them had nature departments. In Cedar Rapids this department was the largest and most popular of the Women's Club. Yet after more than a dozen years of constant appeals "to save from the ravages of commercialism the beauty that is characteristic of Iowa", the Iowa Park and Forestry Association had a diminished membership and the State not a single park or forest reserve. Well might Governor George

[41] *Proceedings of Iowa Conservation Association* in *Transactions of Iowa Horticultural Society*, 1918, pp. 353, 354; Macbride's *On the Campus*, p. 111.

[42] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1902, pp. xiv, xv.

[43] *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1901, pp. 54–56.

[44] *Transactions of Iowa Horticultural Society*, 1918, Vol. 53, p. 351.

W. Clarke as late as 1916 declare in a conservation speech that a veritable John the Baptist would be necessary to arouse Iowa to its need of recreation grounds.[45]

Nevertheless the work of Iowa conservationists had an influence that extended far beyond the bounds of the State. William T. Hornaday, "national pioneer in American game protection", lived long enough in the State to become known as an Iowan.[46] His great work *The American Natural History* appeared from the publishers in 1904 and it was followed by such other well known works as *Our Vanishing Wild Life* and *Wild Life Conservation in Theory and Practice*.[47] In the field of national conservation much good work was done by Major John F. Lacey, "Father of Wild Life Protection in this country", whose memory is revered in the name of the Lacey-Keosauqua State Park. He brought about the first Federal law for the protection of wild game and formulated the rules and regulations for the national parks. Ed. Sherman, another Iowan, was prominent in the same field,[48] to say nothing of the work of Macbride, Shimek, Pammel, and others whose unflagging devotion to State conservation must have had a stimulating and bracing effect on the conservation movement throughout the country.[49] Of special interest to nature lovers and conser-

[45] *Proceedings of Iowa Conservation Association* in *Transactions of Iowa Horticultural Society*, 1918, pp. 353, 354; *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. IV, p. 18.

[46] Stephens's *A Review of Wild Life Protection in Iowa* in *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. I, pp. 49, 59–62, Vol. II, p. 2; Bailey's *Bird Conservation in Iowa* in *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. 243.

[47] Hornaday's *Wild Life Conservation in Theory and Practice*, title page; Hornaday's *The American Natural History*, title page.

[48] Pammel's *Parks for the People* in *Transactions of Iowa Horticultural Society*, 1924, pp. 37–39; Stephens's *A Review of Wild Life Protection in Iowa* in *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. I, pp. 49–52. See also articles in the *Major John F. Lacey Memorial Volume*, compiled by L. H. Pammel.

[49] *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. IV, pp. 44, 46, 68; *Proceedings of Iowa Park and Forestry Association*, 1901, pp. 6, 9.

vationists in Iowa were the charming nature sketches by Frederick John Lazell — *Some Spring Days in Iowa*, *Some Summer Days in Iowa*, *Some Autumn Days in Iowa*, and *Some Winter Days in Iowa* — which appeared from the Torch Press in Cedar Rapids between the years 1902 and 1911. In these sketches Professor Lazell has shown in the style and spirit of Thoreau and Burroughs what a wealth and variety of wild life there is within five or six miles of an Iowa home.[50]

If the efforts of the Iowa conservationists had not borne fruit in the establishment of State parks, much had been accomplished by anticipating and defining the eventual wants of the people. Investigations had been carried on, the results of which would prove valuable in directing the movement which would set in when its object laid hold on the popular imagination. Iowa conservation was initiated and promoted in true statesmanlike manner as later developments clearly proved.

The World War supplied the necessary stimulus. During the conflict human energies were generated which might be expended in destructive activities as well as in the constructive work of peace. While the Federal and State governments were mobilizing the military forces of the country, the Iowa conservationists rounded up the forces of conservation. In 1914 the name of the Iowa Park and Forestry Association was changed to Iowa Forestry and Conservation Association.[51] Between 1917 and 1920 the membership grew from less than one hundred to seven hundred and seventeen, representing seventy of the ninety-nine counties in the State.[52] The publication of a quarterly, *Iowa Conservation*, was begun in 1917 and continued for seven

[50] Lazell's *Some Autumn Days in Iowa*, foreword.

[51] *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. II, p. 56.

[52] *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. IV, p. 18.

years. A situation that had long been passive had been "galvanized into pulsating activity". No wonder that Iowa conservationists felt that now was the time of all time for park legislation.[53]

In the spring of 1917 the Thirty-seventh General Assembly passed an "Act to authorize the establishment of public parks by the State Fish and Game Warden, by and with the consent of the State Executive Council, and to provide for the improvement of the same, and to create a Board of Conservation for the preservation of places of historic, natural or recreational interest authorizing donations in aid of such purposes and to make an appropriation therefor, providing for aid by municipal corporations and authorizing boards of supervisors to extend county road systems in furtherance of the provisions of this act."[54] There was no opposition in the Senate when the final vote was taken. Forty-two senators voted aye and none nay, but eight were absent or not voting.[55] In the House the vote stood sixty-three to twenty-five, twenty absent or not voting.[56] On April 12, 1917, the bill received the approval of Governor W. L. Harding.[57] B. J. Horchem, State Representative from Dubuque County in commenting on the law spoke of the "splendor of vision and quality of power" of the Iowa Forestry and Conservation Association and pronounced the

[53] *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. II, p. 1, Vol. III, p. 21. The Iowa Forestry and Conservation Association appointed the following committee to foster park legislation: G. B. MacDonald, C. F. Curtiss, J. H. Lees, B. W. Newberry, B. J. Horchem, B. Shimek, E. R. Harlan, and L. H. Pammel.— Letter from L. H. Pammel to Bruce E. Mahan, dated November 8, 1927.

[54] *Laws of Iowa*, 1917, Ch. 236. This measure is often referred to as the "Holdoegel Law" because of the support given to the project by Senator P. C. Holdoegel.— Letter from L. H. Pammel to Bruce E. Mahan, dated November 8, 1927.

[55] *Journal of the Senate*, 1917, p. 720.

[56] *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1917, p. 1603.

[57] *Laws of Iowa*, 1917, Ch. 236.

law "a most valuable constructive piece of legislation", but just the harbinger of similar legislation to come.[58]

The act divided the work of acquiring, improving, and investigating desirable tracts of park lands among the Executive Council, the State Fish and Game Warden, and three persons designated by the Executive Council who with the Curator of the State Historical Department as secretary were to form the Board of Conservation which the act created. Furthermore the act made it possible for individuals, corporations, municipalities, and counties to participate in the work by permitting county boards of supervisors at their discretion to build roads to meandered lakes, individuals to donate money and land to the State for park purposes, and individuals, corporations, and municipalities themselves to establish and operate public parks outside of cities and towns provided that such parks be operated not for profit but solely for the public good. The act armed the Executive Council with the power of eminent domain both in acquiring park lands and in building roads to make them accessible to the public. Finally the act carried an annual appropriation to be paid out of the State Fish and Game Protection Fund not to exceed one-half of its receipts nor more than a total of $50,000. The members of the Board of Conservation were to serve without pay but were to have their expenses paid while performing their official duties.[59]

[58] *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. I, p. 36.

[59] *Laws of Iowa*, 1917, Ch. 236. Before 1910 it had been suggested that the financial difficulty of acquiring State parks be overcome by using for this purpose a part of the hunters' license fund.— See Macbride and Shimek's *The Conservation of Lakes, Streams and Woodlands*, p. 23. Later this method of overcoming the formidable objection of the cost was also a favorite one with Iowa conservationists. See *Proceedings of Iowa Conservation Association*, 1916-1917, in *Transactions of Iowa Horticultural Society*, 1918, pp. 363, 376. Dr. Pammel suggests that Dr. C. F. Curtiss was one of the first to advocate the use of hunters' license fees in this manner.— Letter from L. H. Pammel to Bruce E. Mahan, dated November 8, 1927.

As members of the first Board of Conservation, Governor W. L. Harding appointed Dr. L. H. Pammel, Ames; Mayor John Ford, Fort Dodge; and Joseph Kelso, Bellevue. E. R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department at Des Moines, was ex officio secretary of the Board.[60] Pursuant to a call from Governor Harding the members met to organize on December 27, 1918, in Des Moines. The noted Iowa conservationist, Dr. Pammel, was elected chairman.[61] Up to August, 1919, the Board was mainly engaged in preliminary study and investigation. A vast amount of information was collected, much of which, together with the minutes of the Board up to July, 1919, was published in a neat volume of over three hundred pages under the title, *Iowa Parks*.[62]

Among the recommendations of the Board of Conservation to the Thirty-eighth General Assembly was a request for a special park fund to be formed by a two-tenths mill levy on the taxable property of the State, the arrangement of having a joint fund for the parks and the Fish and Game Department having proved unsatisfactory.[63] In accordance with this and other recommendations of the Board the General Assembly in 1919 amended the law of 1917. While the amended law permitted the use for park purposes of funds in the Fish and Game Protection Fund not necessary in the judgment of the Executive Council for the support and

[60] *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. II, p. 40.

[61] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. 3.

[62] *Iowa Parks*, 1919. Beginning in 1920, Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, published an *Abstract of the Minutes of the State Board of Conservation* in the issues of the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series). These articles form a valuable record of the activities of the Board. The series was discontinued in 1923 when the *Bulletin Iowa State Parks* was established.

[63] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. 5; *Report of the Fish and Game Warden* in *Iowa Documents*, 1919, Vol. V, p. 12.

maintenance of the Fish and Game Department, it also carried a special appropriation of $100,000. Furthermore, the law transferred to the Board of Conservation the Fish and Game Warden's authority to establish public parks by and with the consent of the Executive Council.[64]

In December, 1918, negotiations had been started for the acquisition of the first areas for parks. A tract of fourteen hundred acres near Manchester in Delaware County was purchased soon after. Another large tract of nearly the same size was acquired between Keosauqua and Croton, Van Buren County, and a small tract of one hundred acres was accepted as a gift to the State from the people of the neighboring town of Farmington. Many other areas were under consideration. Popular interest was evidenced by the fact that before the close of the year 1919 there were more than one hundred and fifty applications for State parks on file with the secretary of the Board.[65]

Only minor changes were made in the park law by the Thirty-ninth General Assembly. Counties were authorized to raise money to purchase parks which might then be turned over to the State and the Board of Conservation was given control over all meandered streams and lakes. The small tract in Lyon County containing the picturesque little lake, Gitchie Manito or Jasper Pool, already in the possession of the State, was likewise turned over to the Board for park and scientific purposes. A special appropriation was made to pay the salary of the assistant secretary of the Board.[66]

In reviewing the State park situation of 1922 Dr. Macbride lists fourteen parks completely acquired, one in pro-

[64] *Laws of Iowa*, 1919, Ch. 368.

[65] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. ix, x, 11, 12, 13, 19, 20; *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. III, pp. 82, 83.

[66] *Laws of Iowa*, 1921, Chs. 135, 313.

cess of purchase, and nine under consideration. The recently added meandered streams and lakes section of the park laws would make seventy more "beauty spots" probable. The goal he hoped would be a park for each county — some conservationists hoped one for every township. The sustained interest of the people in the park movement had been brought out in the report of the Board to the General Assembly in February, 1921, in which one hundred and fifty applications had been cited.[67] In less than five years the public park system had become a permanent and popular State institution.

The Fortieth General Assembly undertook the complete redrafting of the public park laws. The most important change was made in the make-up, powers, and duties of the Board of Conservation. Its membership was increased from three to five to serve for a term of three years not more than two to go out at the same time. The secretary of the Executive Council was to serve as the secretary of the Board without additional pay. Under the law of 1923 the Board of Conservation was authorized to "investigate places in Iowa rich in natural history, forest reserves, archeological specimens, and geological deposits; and the means of promoting forestry and maintaining and preserving animal and bird life and the conservation of the natural resources of the state", and under the supervision and direction of the Executive Council "to establish, maintain, improve and beautify public parks upon the shores of lakes, streams or other waters, or at other places within the state which have become historical or which are of scientific interest or which by reason of their natural scenic beauty or location are adapted therefor."

For the purpose of laying out and building roads in and to the parks, the law of 1923 permitted the Board to call on

[67] Macbride's *The Present Status of Iowa Parks*, pp. 5, 6.

the State Highway Commission for the services of at least one competent engineer to be paid by the State. Where there are uncertain boundaries between State and private property the county engineer at the expense of his county might be called into consultation. The close relations and the coöperation in this matter between the State and local authorities in county, city, and town was further stressed by authorizing them to undertake the care and maintenance of any State park.

Certain safeguards for the acquisition and disposal of park lands were prescribed. The recommendation of the Board was made a prerequisite to the Executive Council's purchase of lands for parks and the necessary roadways, and no purchase could be made in excess of the appropriation. Lands unsuited for parks or reserves might be sold, but no islands in meandered lakes and streams could be sold except upon recommendation of the Board and the majority vote of the Council.[68]

The annual $50,000 appropriation made in 1917 was doubled two years later and then was left unchanged until 1923. In that year the word *retrenchment* was in the air. Persistent demands for cuts in taxation made the Fortieth General Assembly lower the appropriation for the park fund by one-fourth, placing the figure at $75,000 per year.[69] In 1925 the biennial appropriation was fixed at $180,000. Of this sum 140,000 dollars could be used for the purchase, maintenance, and operation of State parks, and 40,000 dollars for the maintenance of roads.[70]

Only a few years ago Iowa had no State parks at all. The first parks were acquired in 1919. Three years later there

[68] *Laws of Iowa*, 1923, Ch. 33.

[69] Briggs and Van Ek's *The Legislation of the Fortieth General Assembly* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXI, p. 615.

[70] *Laws of Iowa*, 1925, p. 204.

were fourteen and in 1927 there were thirty-eight embracing an area of more than seven thousand acres. Besides the parks the State also owns the meandered lakes and streams each with a total area of about fifty thousand acres.[71]

From the beginning of its efforts to establish public parks the Iowa Park and Forestry Association and its successor the Iowa Forestry and Conservation Association had been aided by such organizations as the Iowa Academy of Science, the Iowa Horticultural Society, and the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs. When the park idea became a State policy more organizations arose to support and develop conservation. The American School of Wild Life Protection was established by Reverend George Bennett in 1918. It has since held annual summer sessions at McGregor.[72] A special group of conservationists, the friends of the feathered tribe, founded the Iowa Ornithologists' Union in 1923.[73]

Much as the growth of conservation in Iowa may owe to the work of organizations, it was individuals who initiated the movement and kept it going.[74] Individual and organized efforts, however, might have come to fruition tardily if not reënforced by some irresistible popular influence. In 1899 farm animals as well as farm folks and city folks stood aghast at the sight of the first automobile in Iowa.[75] Only a dozen years later a motor car had become a common lux-

[71] *Census of Iowa*, 1925, pp. lxx–lxxii. This is the total number of State parks on the latest list, *Iowa State Parks*, published by the State Board of Conservation.

[72] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 24.

[73] *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. VII, pp. 21, 22.

[74] For a list of many individuals who have given strong support to the State park movement see the report on *Iowa State Parks*, by L. H. Pammel, in the *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. IV, Nos. 5 and 6, pp. 134–147. The work of Mrs. Cora C. Whitley for conservation has received national recognition.

[75] Cole's *A History of the People of Iowa*, pp. 511, 512.

ury and in another dozen years a common necessity. Consequently the need of both good roads and convenient places for parks arose at once. In response to the latter need tourist parks were laid out and interest in State parks grew.[76] Then, too, the summer vacation was becoming a more widely accepted American institution and State parks afforded ideal places to spend such a vacation. That they are so used in Iowa is already attested by the large number of summer visitors — and there are also a few winter visitors. In 1924 the Iowa State parks were visited by seven hundred thousand people and the lakes by over a million.[77]

The usual method of acquiring a State park is first to petition the Board of Conservation which then proceeds to investigate the area in question. Reports are filed and the Board in conjunction with the Executive Council decides upon purchase or acceptance of the gift as the case may be.[78] Frequently a park has been obtained partly through purchase by the State and partly as a gift from local organizations or individuals.[79] When a park has been officially established custodians and supervisors of the park roads must be appointed and improvements in the park areas may be projected.[80] Such improvements include shelter houses, fences, signs, paths, and roads, and various devices for protecting and conserving wild life.[81] The park may be dedi-

[76] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2 and 3, p. 11. In 1907 there was paid into the State treasury $1831 for automobile licenses, over half a million dollars in 1912, and more than a million in 1915.— *Census of Iowa*, 1915, p. lxxxvi. See also Appleby's *A Hundred Towns Provide Tourist Parks* in *The Iowa Magazine*, 1922, pp. 72, 80.

[77] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 1.

[78] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 9.

[79] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 9.

[80] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 26, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 72–82, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 29.

[81] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 26, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 72–83, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 29.

cated by elaborate public ceremonies but the dedication is often deferred to a time long after the park has been established and opened to the public.[82]

So far this sketch has dealt mainly with the history of the State park movement during the last quarter century without any detailed accounts of the individual park areas. These will be discussed in the following pages, with some reference both to their geographic features and their historic associations.

Backbone State Park. — It is always risky to use the word *first* in history. One might call the Spirit Lake Massacre monument grounds,[83] or even the campus areas of the State colleges and hospitals,[84] the first State parks. Surely the Capitol Grounds in Des Moines is one of the finest and one of the oldest parks in the State.[85] The Backbone Park in Delaware County, however, was the first State park established for pleasure and recreation and for the conservation of scenery and wild life. It was also one of the first areas to be thought of as suitable for a State park.[86]

The first organized move was made at a picnic gathering

[82] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 2, 3, 9, 17.

[83] The Spirit Lake Massacre Monument was erected by the State in 1895 on grounds presented to the State by the former owners.— Teakle's *The Spirit Lake Massacre,* pp. 265, 266.

[84] The State University of Iowa was established in 1847, at Iowa City, the State College at Ames was officially opened in 1869, and the State Teachers College at Cedar Falls was founded in 1876. See *Iowa Official Register,* 1919-1920, pp. 182, 187, 191. The first State hospital was established before the Civil War. See Cole's *A History of the People of Iowa,* p. 277.

[85] The General Assembly by act of 1913 provided for the extension and improvement of the State Capitol Grounds into a magnificent park.— *Laws of Iowa,* 1913, pp. 16–19. The progress made in improving the Capitol Grounds between 1913 and 1923 is shown most clearly by Edgar R. Harlan in an illustrated article, *A Decade of Improvement,* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XIV, pp. 3–31.

[86] Macbride's *County Parks* in *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* 1895, Vol. III, p. 94.

of the Travel Club of Manchester on the present park grounds on September 18, 1918. Dr. L. H. Pammel, later chairman of the Board of Conservation, was invited to attend and delivered the address. A committee was appointed to coöperate with citizens of Manchester, Strawberry Point, Edgewood, and the adjacent territory with the object of securing a State park. Members of the committee were Mrs. E. B. Dunham, Mrs. A. R. Stearns, Mrs. Jennie Le Roy, E. M. Carr, and B. W. Newberry.[87]

On December 27, 1918, the Executive Council met in special session for the purpose of conferring with the Board of Conservation about the adoption of a general policy with reference to the purchase and improvement of park sites and natural beauty spots. In addition to the entire membership of the Board the following persons were present — Thomas MacDonald, Chief Highway Engineer; L. E. Foglesong, Associate Landscape Architect of the Capitol Grounds Extension; O. W. Crowley, Capitol Grounds Extension Engineer; and State Senator B. W. Newberry, of Strawberry Point. When the conference had discussed from various angles the matter of the purchase of the Backbone property — then called the Devil's Backbone — E. R. Harlan presented and the conference adopted the following resolution:

> The Board of Conservation recommend to the Executive Council, in compliance with the report and the recommendation of the Game Warden, the purchase of not less than twelve hundred (1,200) acres, or as much more as may to the Council seem advisable to acquire, for a state park, in the region of what is known as the "Devil's Back Bone", Delaware county, Iowa, the same to embrace both banks of the Maquoketa river at Forest Mills and up stream to what is known as Trout Brook and both banks of the latter stream up to and including Richmond Spring, together with such additional grounds as may to the Executive Council seem adequate to the purpose of the statute.

[87] *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. II, p. 32.

Virtually the same resolution was adopted by the Executive Council and this body also appropriated the sum of sixty thousand dollars for the purchase of such property. It furthermore authorized State Auditor, F. S. Shaw, and State Treasurer, E. H. Hoyt, to enter into contracts with the owners of the land for which, however, not more than a maximum price of sixty dollars per acre might be paid. In case of unwillingness to sell at the maximum price, a higher price might be paid if the consent of all the members of the valuation committee was obtained. As members of this committee Governor Harding appointed George W. Dunham of Manchester; B. W. Newberry of Strawberry Point; and W. A. Abbott of Lamont.[88]

These men performed their duties "in an eminently and highly satisfactory way".[89] During the same year, 1919, Governor Harding accepted the Backbone property for the State of Iowa "as public property, to be a park for us and for our children, while the Commonwealth endures".[90] Since this park was purchased almost entirely from funds derived from hunting licenses it has not inaptly been called "The Gift of the Iowa Sportsmen to the People of the State."[91]

On Friday, May 28, 1922, a time "of beauty and wondrous appeal", the dedication took place. Many of the participants met at Lamont where they were royally entertained, this town aspiring to be the gateway to the park. On the park grounds the ladies from Strawberry Point assisted by ladies from Manchester and other places served a free dinner to the many visitors. After dinner came the addresses. Many speakers expressed sentiments which "deserved en-

[88] *Iowa Parks,* 1919, pp. 11–15.

[89] *Iowa Parks,* 1919, p. 45.

[90] Macbride's *The Present Status of Iowa Parks,* p. 5.

[91] *Iowa Parks,* 1919, p. ix.

shrining for all time." Senator B. W. Newberry presided. He announced that the old name, the Devil's Backbone, would be forever discarded and that the park would henceforth be known as the Backbone State Park. Two bands — the Manchester Cornet Band and the Boy Scout Band of Hopkinton — furnished music for the occasion. E. M. Carr of Manchester gave an address of welcome. Following a vocal solo entitled "Iowa", by Mrs. E. W. Williams, Dr. L. H. Pammel made the speech of presentation and Governor Harding accepted the gift for the State of Iowa dedicating it "to the all of to-morrow". There was more music and many short talks by prominent people in concluding the ceremony of dedication.[92]

The region in which the Backbone is located was described by W J McGee in *The Pleistocene History of Northeastern Iowa* based upon investigations made for the United States between 1876 and 1881.[93] An elaborate and delightful description by Samuel Calvin appeared in the July number of *The Midland Monthly* for 1896. At this time the region was already known as a picnic ground and a summer resort with a tourists' hotel, a "Lovers' Walk", footpaths, footbridges, and a liberal sprinkling of such names as "Devil's Oven", "Devil's Claws", and "Devil's Stairway". But such "fiendish" names diminished in no way the beauty of these "weather-beaten cliffs, the difficult and lonely paths, the odorous pines in which the breezes make perpetual music", nor lessened the refreshment and invigoration they provided to mind and body.[94]

Geologically, the Backbone region, or the Richland Highlands as Samuel Calvin suggested that it be called, is a bit

[92] *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. IV, pp. 44–46, 48, 49.

[93] McGee's *The Pleistocene History of Northeastern Iowa*, pp. 199, 397.

[94] Calvin's *The Devil's Backbone* in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. VI, pp. 20–26.

of driftless area, though very small. Thus it is a piece of "oldland" in which one rightly imagines himself in a land upon which ten thousands of centuries have gazed. The Backbone proper is a long narrow limestone ridge around which the Maquoketa forms a loop. The summit of the ridge rises from ninety to one hundred and forty feet above the river. In some places the sides are precipitous, rising sheer upwards for a hundred feet. The exposed surfaces have been carved into "picturesque columns, towers, castles, battlements and flying buttresses."[95]

Botanically, the region has been described by Dr. Pammel as a "veritable island of vegetation" because many of the species of its flora do not occur in the surrounding country. This is accounted for by the topographic features: the ruggedness of the region interlaced as it is with deep rock-walled ravines converging in the gorge through which flows the south branch of the Maquoketa. Of special interest to tree lovers are the white pines, some on the very summit of the ridge. These are rare trees in Iowa. Many other species, mostly second growth, are found — several kinds of maple, oak, elm, elder, willow, poplar, and nut-bearing trees. The sycamore, a rare tree in northern Iowa, is also found here, as well as blue beech, ironwood, paper birch, American yew, red cedar, many shrubs, and herbaceous plants.[96]

This region has long been a favorite haunt of a varied fauna. Of present species may be noted coyotes, raccoons, foxes, squirrels, field mice, gophers, and groundhogs. Also

[95] Excellent geological descriptions of the Backbone region are given by Dr. Samuel Calvin in *The Iowa Geological Survey*, Vol. VIII, p. 132, and by James H. Lees in *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. 43–45.

[96] *Iowa Parks*, pp. 41, 42, 45, 46. See also an article in *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. II, pp. 63–66.

Dr. L. H. Pammel, Head of the Department of Botany at Iowa State College at Ames, is the authority for the names of plants mentioned above, as well as for the description of the flora of other State parks discussed in this article.

such birds as the crow, the bobolink, the scarlet tanager, the whip-poor-will, the mourning dove, the quail, the bluebird, the humming bird, and others are found here. Trout and black bass frisk about in the pure waters which flow from the springs.[97]

The Backbone State Park contains about thirteen hundred acres of land. It is a part of Richland Township located in the northwestern part of Delaware County. Good roads lead to it from Manchester, Delaware County, about twelve miles southeast; from Strawberry Point, Clayton County, three or four miles northeast; and from Lamont, Buchanan County, about four miles northwest.[98]

Silver Lake State Park.—The only meandered lake in Delaware County, as well as in northeastern Iowa — not counting the bayou lakes along the Mississippi—has recently become the Silver Lake State Park. It is located on the outskirts of Delhi in a region of Iowan drift. The shores are mostly sandy and have very little marsh land. The lake itself contains an area of thirty-two acres. With the shores the total area is some forty acres, partly the gift of Delhi citizens to the State. Migrating ducks and geese use these waters as a haven of rest; and they are already attractive to bathers. The common herbaceous plants along the shores are milkwort, horsemint or bee balm, whorled milkweed, pennyroyal, hepatica, rockrose; such shrubs as smooth sumac, wild rose, New Jersey tea, wild grape, staff tree, bittersweet, chokecherry, strawberry bush, prickly ash; such native trees as bur oak, barren or black oak, slippery elm, American elm, basswood, hackberry, cottonwood, almond-leaved, black and pussy willows.

[97] *Iowa Parks,* 1919, p. 49; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, p. 109.

[98] *Iowa Parks,* 1919, pp. ix, 45, 47.

Planted Scotch, Austrian, and white pine are becoming naturalized. Of birds the robin, the bluejay, the mourning dove, the whip-poor-will, hawks, and owls have been observed in this park.[99]

Lacey-Keosauqua State Park.— Van Buren County in southeastern Iowa like Delaware County has two State parks. At its first meeting in 1919 the Board of Conservation considered the investigation of the "Lower Des Moines" area extending from Belfast, Lee County, to Eldon, Wapello County, along the Des Moines River. In company with B. F. Ketcham, Phil K. Ware, and other Farmington citizens the members in July inspected a small tract of about one hundred acres in the vicinity of Farmington, locally known as the Big Duck Pond. This consisted of a shallow spring-fed lake about forty acres in extent, more than two-thirds covered with lotus, and a tract of woodlands containing a vast variety of plants. The people of Farmington proposed to present this to Iowa cost free on the conditions that it be made into a public park, that a dam be built to restore the former level of the water in the lake, and that the whole tract be made accessible by building the necessary roads.

At the same time the Board accompanied by H. E. Blackledge, Emory Ploughman, Arthur J. Secor, J. A. Brown, and H. E. Rees also inspected the Ely's Branch country along the Ely's Ford Creek south of Keosauqua. They found this region to be a large uninterrupted expanse of native shrubs and trees. It was bounded by the Des Moines River for about a mile on the northeast and extended from one to three miles back from that river. The ground was deeply broken and otherwise well suited to the

[99] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 2, 3, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 108, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 27.

preservation of wild plants, birds, and animals. It was already used as a recreation ground and was easy of access. The above named gentlemen assured the Board that at least six hundred acres could be purchased at an average cost of not exceeding forty dollars per acre and a part of this amount would be contributed by the people of the county.

The Board recommended to the Executive Council that both areas be acquired,[100] and on September 5, 1919, the Council ordered the purchase of the Keosauqua tract.[101] The whole area of more than twelve hundred acres was purchased at an average cost of fifty dollars per acre. Of this amount citizens of Van Buren County contributed seven thousand and six hundred dollars.[102]

Very properly this park was named Lacey-Keosauqua Park. The first part of the compound name was given in honor of the Iowa soldier, statesman, and conservationist, Major John F. Lacey, whose services for conservation have been mentioned elsewhere in this paper.[103] The second part of the name was given in recognition of the importance of Keosauqua as the gateway city of the park with which it is connected by a bridge which was completed in 1873 across the historic Ely's Ford.[104]

The dedication of the park occurred on October 26 and 27, 1920, beginning with an informal meeting in the park

[100] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. 20, 21.

[101] *Iowa Official Register*, 1921-1922, p. 624.

[102] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. x.

[103] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 109. *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 14–18, contains an account of *Major John F. Lacey as a Wild Life Conservationist*, by Harry C. Oberholser. The *Major John F. Lacey Memorial Volume*, compiled by L. H. Pammel, contains a wealth of information about Iowa's noted conservationist.

[104] *The History of Van Buren County* (1878), p. 479; *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. x.

around a camp fire where the question was discussed whether foxes and pheasants could live neighborly on the same reserve. At the more formal dedication on the following day R. R. McBeth of Keosauqua presided. Addresses were made by a number of prominent Iowans — Professor George F. Kay, Professor C. A. Cumming, Professor Charles R. Keyes, Professor E. A. Piester, the Reverend Leroy Titus Weeks, Dr. Bohumil Shimek, Dr. Thomas H. Macbride, Dr. Charles S. Medbury, and Curator E. R. Harlan. The chairman of the Board, Dr. L. H. Pammel, delivered the speech of presentation and Edwin H. Hoyt representing Governor W. L. Harding dedicated the park, "first to the birds, animals, flowers, plants and trees, then to red-blooded men and women everywhere, then to common folk like 'you and I'."[105]

The value of the park as a game reserve is increased by the fact that the farmers in the vicinity have voluntarily agreed to assist the State in protecting wild life both on their own lands and on those of the State. Thus about five thousand acres in this region are protected and undisturbed breeding places for birds and animals.[106]

The common fur-bearing species in this area are groundhogs, raccoons, minks, opossums, skunks, gray squirrels, and red foxes, the latter being the most numerous, so numerous indeed that they are already a problem.[107] Ruffed grouse have been observed, quails are abundant, and cardinals have resorts here in winter and breeding places in summer.[108] Thus the park has become a haven for birds and animals.

[105] *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. IV, pp. 67–70.

[106] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. x.

[107] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. x; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, p. 21, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 109.

[108] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. x.

Nearly all of the trees are second growth.[109] There is an unusually large number of species. No other area in Iowa has so many of the different species of oak — white, black, red, swamp, chestnut, post, shingle, bur, pin, and black Jack. There are also some magnificent specimens of sycamore, basswood, American elm, slippery elm, hackberry, hard and soft maple, honey locust, coffee tree, redbud, haws, wild crab, choke cherry, black cherry, cottonwood, butter nut, red mulberry, black walnut, two kinds of shell bark hickory, four ashes — the green, the white, the red, and the square stemmed ash. On "the lower reaches of the Des Moines" are some pecans — trees not common in Iowa. Some of the trees are from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and seventy-five years old. They were good sized trees when Pike made his memorable voyage up the Mississippi. Many shrubs are also found here. These include the paw-paw, the wild grape, the poison ivy, the moon seed, the bittersweet, the green briar, the trumpet creeper, three kinds of sumacs, several kinds of dogwood, and other varieties.

Such herbaceous plants as purple trillium, columbine, Dutchman's breeches, bloodroot, hepatica, mandrake, anemone, and blue cohosh grow in shady places. In the prairie openings bloom blazing stars, gentians, goldenrods, and asters.[110] The broad valley of Ely's Creek, formerly plowed ground, was in 1925 covered with great masses of blooming cup plants — some more than six feet tall — and other sun-loving plants.[111]

The park area itself offers much of historic interest. A quarter of a mile back from Ely's Ford is the site of a pre-

[109] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, p. 22.

[110] Pammel's *The Lower Des Moines Area* in *Iowa Parks,* 1919, p. 65; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, p. 109.

[111] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 30.

historic Indian village.[112] The river bank by the ford has a chain of six well-preserved Indian mounds. Some of these have been opened and a number of relics found. These were described by Dr. Frederick Starr in 1897. In one of the mounds was found at a depth of two feet a human skeleton, the skull being "somewhat Neanderthaloid". Close by was a half-moon-shaped mound containing some thigh bones. Another mound yielded only a small fragment of pottery. In a large mound sixty feet in diameter and five feet six inches high were found a thigh bone and an upper arm bone and some fresh water shells. A shell heap yielded the greatest number of relics: bones of deer, bear, wolf, dog, and snapping turtle, flint flakes, arrowheads, a greenstone axe, and fragments of pottery. The long bones had been split open for the marrow. The pottery was of common clay tempered with sand and poorly burnt. Its ornamentation consisted of simple lines or cord markings. Pieces of limestone gave evidence of fire action.[113]

An examination of these relics does not warrant the conclusions that the "prehistoric" builders of the mounds were a race much different from the historic Sauks and Foxes, nor that they lived in a very distant past. But it is not improbable that they inhabited the valleys of what is now Iowa before the time of Columbus, perhaps even centuries before.[114]

[112] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, p. 22.

[113] Starr's *Summary of the Archeology of Iowa* in *Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences,* Vol. VI, pp. 120, 121. For an earlier account of the Keosauqua mounds see *The History of Van Buren County* (1878), p. 338. Dr. Charles R. Keyes, Director of the State Archeological Survey for the State Historical Society of Iowa, has also made extensive investigations in this area.

[114] Keyes's *Progress of the Archeological Survey of Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 339–352. See also Ward's *The Problem of the Mounds* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. III, pp. 20–40.

Of more recent historic interest to park visitors are Ely's Ford and Keosauqua, the gateway city to the park. Ely's Ford between Keosauqua and the park was a noted crossing of the Des Moines River before the days of the railroads and its banks were later picnic grounds for people within a radius of twenty miles.[115] Keosauqua is located in the great bend of the Des Moines River across from the park. The origin of the present town goes back to 1839. Originally there were three town plats in the bend lying close together and named respectively: Van Buren, Des Moines, and Keosauqua. When the Des Moines and the Van Buren plat both contended for the county seat, a union of all three became imperative and all agreed upon the euphonious Keosauqua — even in preference to the dazzling Port Oro (Port Gold). It was incorporated in 1842, and is the county seat of Van Buren County.[116]

At Keosauqua as well as at a number of other places along the Des Moines River in Van Buren County may be seen dams, locks, steamboat landings, and power mills — or their remains — recalling pre-railroad days when the Des Moines River was a highway to the interior of Iowa, and when the Des Moines River improvement project formed the "burden" of much of politics in Iowa.[117]

Farmington State Park.— The second State park in Van Buren County, and the third to be established in the State is the Farmington State Park only a few miles down the river from Keosauqua and just one-half mile south of Farmington.[118] But while the town is on the northeast side

[115] *Iowa Parks,* 1919, p. x.

[116] *The History of Van Buren County* (1878), pp. 467, 480.

[117] *Iowa Parks,* 1919, pp. 60–65. A good brief account of the Des Moines River Improvement may be found in *The History of Van Buren County* (1878), pp. 416–428.

[118] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. I, No. 3, p. 9.

of the river, the park is on the opposite side. It begins at the Des Moines River and extends back through a short valley which at its upper end opens out into an interesting lake. This is the beautiful American lotus pond. When the lotus blooms in August, the lake presents a veritable field of the cloth of gold.[119]

This park also has some very large redbud, American, and slippery elms. Otherwise its flora does not differ essentially from that of the Lacey-Keosauqua Park. The fauna, too, is similar.[120]

This is strictly a rural park. It has a well containing pure water and the park has other camping facilities. Since the acquisition of the area by the State the level of the water in the lotus pond has been slightly raised by placing a dam near its outlet. Along the Des Moines River there are good bathing beaches.[121]

Farmington was laid out in 1839. It was the first county seat of Van Buren County, but only two sessions of court were held there. The Territorial militia of Iowa assembled here in 1839 during the boundary dispute with Missouri. In that year, too, Abner Kneeland founded his colony called Salubria, two miles south of Farmington. The town was incorporated by the First General Assembly of the State of Iowa.[122]

Ledges State Park.— A consideration of some of the other large parks of Iowa, early established, takes us to the central part of the State, to a region called the Ledges on the Pease (Peese or Pea's) Creek, which empties into the

[119] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 31, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 110; *Iowa Parks,* 1919, p. ix.

[120] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, p. 110.

[121] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. I, No. 3, p. 9, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 110.

[122] *The History of Van Buren County* (1878), pp. 397, 464, 480, 481, 482–484, 509; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VI, pp. 340–363.

Des Moines River southwest of Boone in Boone County.[123] Long before the State park movement began, this tract was a favorite haunt of geologists, botanists, and zoölogists, as well as of sightseers and picnickers. Students from the Iowa State College at Ames and other Iowa educational institutions had frequently gone there on study trips and the region around the Ledges was considered one of nature's great laboratories.[124] For a few years citizens of Boone and Des Moines maintained a resort there called Beaulah Home where children were brought to spend a few weeks in rural surroundings.[125] Dr. Pammel of the State College at Ames in 1913 referred to the Ledges as one of Iowa's beauty spots worth preserving. Citizens of Boone, too, were alive to the possibilities of this tract as a State park.[126] Carl F. Henning, an enthusiastic student of its wild life, appealed to the citizens of Iowa in *The Iowa Magazine*, February, 1918, to show "forethought and ambition" and to gather for themselves and their posterity "the greater treasure that lies in the very center of our state — namely, the 'Ledges'. They are Natures greatest gift to the people of Iowa."[127]

At a meeting of the Board of Conservation held in Cedar Rapids on April 26, 1919, a motion was adopted that the Ledges be considered a park proposition and investigated. The investigation was made and reports filed with the Board, which on August 30, 1920, recommended to the Executive Council the acquisition of the tract subject to the

[123] The original name of this creek was Pea's Branch.— Goldthwait's *History of Boone County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 262. Later it has been called Peese or Pease Creek.

[124] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 15.

[125] Goldthwait's *History of Boone County, Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 262.

[126] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 14, 15.

[127] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. 119–121; Henning's *The Ledges — Nature's Gift to Iowa* in *The Iowa Magazine*, February, 1918, pp. 7–12, 36.

approval of the valuation committee. At a joint meeting of the Board and the Council on June 18, 1921, forty-two thousand dollars were appropriated for the purchase of the Ledges State Park; and Secretary of State W. C. Ramsay, Auditor Glenn C. Haynes, and J. F. Ford were appointed to negotiate the purchase of the tract.

In the meantime citizens of Boone became active. The Boone Chamber of Commerce called several meetings to discuss methods of financial aid for the project, and the newly organized Ledges Park Association appointed a committee to solicit funds. Responses were prompt and sixteen thousand dollars were raised. This amount plus the appropriation made by the Executive Council was paid for six hundred and forty acres, the original area of the park, to which it is proposed to add a quarter section of meandered land along the Des Moines River.[128]

The formal dedication took place in the park on a beautiful autumn day, November 9, 1924, with an estimated attendance of three thousand and five hundred. Mrs. H. T. Cook presided. A program, consisting of an invocation, several musical numbers, and addresses of presentation and acceptance, was carried out. Dr. Pammel in the address of presentation gave a history of the park, and for the address of acceptance W. C. Ramsay representing Governor Kendall chose for his text the following: "Vice must be fought by welfare, not by restraint alone; and society is not safe until the pleasures of today are stronger than the temptations." He dedicated the park to "the use of all of the people of the state," and to "our children and children's children now and forever."[129]

The Ledges State Park is located on both sides of the Des Moines River. Bear Creek—so named because a bear

[128] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 15–17.

[129] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 2, 14, 19, 20.

was killed there by the early settlers—drains the part of the tract on the west side and Pease Creek that on the east side. A half-mile above the outlet of the latter is an outcrop of sandstone on both banks forming the Ledges. They are vertical walls in some places about seventy-five feet high having a gentle slope extending to the top of the prairies of about one hundred and twenty-five feet more. Their formation dates back to the coal age. Coal seams are not in evidence at the Ledges, but they may be observed in the banks of the Des Moines River near the outlet of the Pease Creek.[130]

The valleys of the creeks were carved out after the ice age.[131] Formerly valleys and hills were heavily wooded and they still contain a variety of trees, shrubs, and herbaceous plants. In this area interesting species of ferns are found.[132] On the Ledges is also a remarkable assemblage of northern plants, such as the pale vetch, the juniper moss, and the reindeer lichen. Reindeer lichens cover immense areas in the Arctics, but they occur only in a few places in Iowa.[133]

This park boasts one of the most magnificent elms in the State. Its diameter is nine feet. It stands a mile and a half down the stream from the Sixteen-to-One Bridge.[134]

The Ledges are favorite resorts of birds and animals. Along the foot paths one may see scampering squirrels and foxes and hear the sonorous drumming of woodpeckers, the weird notes of the whip-poor-wills, and the warble of blue-

[130] *Iowa Geological Survey*, Vol. V, p. 187, map following p. 202; *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. 117, 119; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 18; Goldthwait's *History of Boone County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 87, 262.

[131] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 18.

[132] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. 117, 118, 122.

[133] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. 116; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 110.

[134] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 13, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 110.

birds. Such birds as gold finches, red-poll linnets, and roaming Bohemian wax wings lend their colors to the landscape. Over one hundred species of birds have been observed in this park.[135]

The prehistoric Indians have left their marks in this region. On the west side of the Des Moines River in section eighteen of Marcy Township is a series of nine small mounds. They had not been opened before 1914, but since that time archeologists have expressed favorable opinions on their value for the study of Iowa archeology.[136]

The name of John Pea, one of the most prominent of the early settlers in Boone County, is definitely associated with the early history of the Ledges. Pea and others settled in 1846 on the banks of Pea's Creek or Branch, later called Peese or Pease Creek. The place, where John Pea built his cabin was called Pea's Point—a well-known landmark in pioneer days.[137]

Dolliver Memorial State Park.—North of the Ledges State Park the Des Moines River winds among banks of Wisconsin drift broken by sandstone outcrops and deep wooded ravines a few miles in width. Beyond these stretches the open prairie. North of Lehigh and east of Otho in Webster County are several ravines long known to nature lovers and nature students—Boneyard Hollow, Longman's Hollow, and Wildcat Den. The region in which they are located was one of those first thought of as suitable for State parks.[138]

[135] *Iowa Parks,* 1919, pp. 120, 121; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 11, 12.

[136] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, No. 5, p. 15; Goldthwait's *History of Boone County, Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 282.

[137] *The History of Boone County* (1880), pp. 298, 300; Goldthwait's *History of Boone County, Iowa,* Vol. I, p. 259.

[138] *Iowa Parks,* 1919, pp. 85, 86, 88, 89.

The movement for this purpose started in Webster County soon after the first meeting of the Board of Conservation in December, 1918. An investigation was ordered by the Board and on September 5, 1919, the acquisition was referred to the Executive Council. Again, on December 3, 1920, the Board adopted a resolution requesting the Council to acquire the tract to be known as Dolliver Memorial Park. The final acquisition of the park was completed on April 22, 1921. Of the original purchase price the State paid thirty-eight thousand and five hundred dollars, and a local committee of Webster County citizens contributed some ten thousand dollars. J. B. Black and Mr. Sperry agreed to donate a strip of land for road purposes, and through the instrumentality of the Fort Dodge Chamber of Commerce the Board of Conservation accepted the Dolliver Memorial Fund on the condition that a suitable memorial be placed in the park in honor of Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver. Permission was also granted to the Y. M. C. A. to have a summer camp in the park.

The first custodian was J. B. Black. On April 22, 1922, an appropriation was made to set aside six hundred dollars to construct roads and bridges and for general supervision under J. F. Ford.[139]

Dedication day came on June 28, 1925, a clear, cool, bright day, which brought cars from all portions of the State, to the number of 2313 with a total of 13,878 people. O. M. Oleson of Fort Dodge, chairman of the local committee, was in charge of the dedication service. The program began at 2:30 o'clock, when a number of selections were played by the Dayton band. Dr. Pammel made the speech of presentation giving an account of the history of the acquisition of the park and of the life of Senator Dolliver. He was followed by J. B. Weaver who spoke on "Jonathan Prentiss

[139] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 4, 5.

Dolliver—A Living Memory". In his speech of acceptance J. C. McClune, who represented the Governor, dedicated "this beautiful Dolliver Memorial Park not only to the people of Webster County, not only to the people of the State of Iowa, but to the people of the Republic of the United States."[140]

Immediately before the address by J. B. Weaver, Miss Frances Pearsons Dolliver pulled a cord parting the two large American flags hanging on a hillside, and there stood revealed before the multitude a bronze tablet with "a splendid likeness" of Senator Dolliver, designed by Lorado Taft. The tablet also contains this inscription:

> The miracle of homestead settlement brought to these prairies the best blood of the world's energies, an heroic generation that, with the rude sermons of poverty and labor, dedicated this ample territory. The men and devoted women who settle a country are the lasting and preferred creditors of every succeeding generation. We will never be able to repay them. The frontier servitude of their experience is beyond the arithmetic of gratitude. May their lives be spared to witness, with their children, the full measure of political, commercial, and industrial prosperity to see the country in which their frontier fortunes have been cast filled with an industrious, happy, and high-minded people.— From a Fourth of July oration, 1880, at Jefferson, Iowa. Scholar — Orator — Statesman. United States House of Representatives 1888–1900. United States Senate 1900–1910.[141]

In 1926 the Dolliver Memorial Park embraced 587 acres of land on the west side of the Des Moines River, near the Prairie Creek in Otho Township.[142] Interesting topographical features are the outcrops of sandstone, the so-called copperas beds, and the Boneyard Hollow, one of the many

[140] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 2, 8, 20, 21, 22.

[141] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 1, p. 1, 3.

[142] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, p. 111; *Iowa Parks,* 1919, p. 93.

steep ravines of the area. It runs back about three-quarters of a mile from the river. A small creek flows at the bottom of the tiny valley, between perpendicular walls that rise in places to a height of seventy-five feet.[143]

This gorge, too, is interesting for the types of plants found in it, especially the ferns. Here may be seen the walking leaf fern, the bladder fern with its little bubblets, the Woodsia, the spleenwort, the Osmunda, the maiden hair fern, and the Polypody. With the exception of two species, one of which is found in Woodman's Hollow, all the ferns in central Iowa are found here.

On the ridge or hog back which connects the different ravines appears a prairie flora—commandra, dalea, wood betony, puccoon, and sweet william. On the other hog backs are great quantities of the juniper moss, reindeer lichen, and pale vetch. The region is further noted for its many fine second growth trees.[144]

The Boneyard Hollow derives its name from the large number of bones of elk, deer, and buffalo which have been found in the soil of the valley floor. They are mingled with implements of native copper, arrowheads, and remains of other Indian weapons indicating that the Indians—historic or prehistoric—perhaps used the gorge as a trap for game. Other Indian remains are also found in this region. Mounds occur on both sides of the Des Moines River. They are especially numerous near the town of Lehigh and on the McGuire's Bend. Dr. Charles R. Keyes also reports some fine lineal mounds within the park.[145]

[143] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. 91; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, p. 17.

[144] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 1, 2, 3, pp. 17, 18, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 111.

[145] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. 91; Pratt's *History of Fort Dodge and Webster County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 26, 27; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 111.

Eldora Pine Creek State Park.—The Ledges, the Dolliver Memorial Park, and the Eldora Pine Creek Park are the three largest State parks in central Iowa. The last of these is located along the Iowa River on the outskirts of Eldora, Hardin County.[146] In this region the Iowa River has cut a deep channel, through layers of sandstone and formed heavily wooded ravines which in earlier years served as hiding-places for horse thieves. Today the most beautiful, and the wildest parts of the Iowa valley, lying between Eldora and Steamboat Rock, form a State park.[147]

During the forties of the last century the geologist, David Dale Owen, called attention to the wild beauty and the rare plants of this region, especially to the presence of paper birch and white pines.[148] It has later been proved that this is the most southwesterly distribution of white pine in the United States west of the Mississippi.[149] When Hardin County was settled there were enough trees of this species to give them a commercial value as lumber. Several houses in the county during pioneer days were built of local white pine. In the seventies there were still specimens left in the upwards of seventy feet tall. At that time many of the smaller cedars and pines were carried away by farmers and residents of Eldora to be used as ornamental trees.

Eldora was laid out on the banks of the Iowa River in 1853. It was beautifully situated. The stores were arranged around a public square or park, and neat residences soon arose surrounded by shade trees and ornamental shrubbery. In a couple of decades Eldora had a population

[146] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 111, 114.

[147] Fenton's *Seeing Iowa Afoot — and Otherwise* in *The Iowa Magazine,* 1924, pp. 228, 235.

[148] Pammel's *Iowa Keeps Nature's Gifts* in *The Iowa Magazine,* 1923, p. 589.

[149] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 45.

of about fifteen hundred, and prided itself upon being one of the best towns for its size west of the Mississippi. Its people were filled with the spirit of true pioneering. They gave proof of this when outside aid for the improvement of the means of communication proved inadequate for they went ahead and established telegraph and railroad communications by their "own unaided energy and perseverance".[150]

With such traditions it was only natural that the citizens of Eldora should respond strongly to the proposition of a State park near their town. They were even enthusiastic enough to attempt the establishment of both a State park and a new city park. With this end in view they voluntarily subscribed seventy-five thousand dollars. In 1921 the Executive Council approved the plan and purpose of the citizens, and the State assisted in the purchase of the two hundred and thirty-six acres which comprise the park.

On September 6, 1926, the park was dedicated in the presence of some fifteen hundred people. A fine tribute was paid on the printed programs to Herbert Quick, one of Iowa's most distinguished writers, who was born near the head waters of Pine Creek. Mayor W. H. Soper of Eldora presided at the exercises. Reverend Albert R. Rice gave the invocation, and Tolbert MacRae sang a solo, "Iowa". Robert Burlingame read a paper on *Legends and Names Related to Park Areas.* Dr. Pammel, in making the formal presentation of the park to the State, gave a history of the acquisition of the area. In receiving the park for the State, L. V. Carter, representing Governor Hammill, spoke of the wider meaning of the State park movement. "Those who come to seek recreation in this park", he said, "will have a more exalted idea of the greatness of nature and the State

[150] Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 403; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 42.

in which they live. The fullest use of the park will make for greater ties of friendship. We will forget our differences as the worker and the capitalist do today. We hope that by providing this park we are developing a better and nobler citizenship because this park has been established in a great community rich in literary productions, rich in family traditions, and rich in the spirit of fellowship." The benediction was then pronounced by Reverend T. J. Dowling.[151]

The Eldora Pine Creek Park is chiefly noted for its scenery and its varied flora, though it also has an interesting fauna and some fine Indian mounds. The area includes the little canyon, Wild Cat Den (Glen or Cave), and the brook, Pine Creek. Rising to the right from a beautiful artificial lake of several acres are steep, sandy slopes which are covered with paper birch, pin cherry, choke cherry, ironwood, and white and red oak. From this point the visitor has a "lovely view with a fine rural setting and far beyond are the thickly green carpeted blue grass pastures." At the end of the lake the brook makes a sharp turn. Its left bank is covered at this place with several species of trees among which is a white pine perhaps two hundred and fifty years old. "Why should we go to Wisconsin", asked Dr. Pammel, "when there are such beautiful places in Iowa?"[152]

Since this area was taken over by the State, it has been improved with roads, a shelter, and a bath house. Both of these structures were built of red sandstone and harmonize with the natural beauty of the park.[153]

[151] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, p. 23, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 33–47; *Iowa Official Register*, 1923-1924, p. 613.

[152] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, pp. 22–24, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 111, 114, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 33.

[153] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 26; *Iowa Official Register*, 1923-1924, p. 612, 1925-1926, p. 661.

Lepley State Park.— Down in the southeastern corner of Hardin County, a mile and a half south of the town of Union, lies a second State park. This is the Lepley Park, a gift of the Lepleys of Hardin County to the people of Iowa.[154]

The story of the Lepleys is a saga well worth recounting. About two hundred years ago Adam Lepley, back in Germany, said to his *hausfrau:* "Our sons are growing, there is no land in Germany, but there is free land in America. Let us go to America!" They settled in Pennsylvania, felled trees, grubbed stumps, and worked hard. The first Adam grew old, died, and slept by the side of his German wife in a pioneer mountain graveyard. The second Adam Lepley said to his wife, Barbara, in his half-German, half-English speech: "Mine bruder Jacob has goot land, sheap in Ohio. I think besser we go." Barbara said: "The poys grow up. We need more land. Here the land iss too poor." They followed the trails westward to the more fertile lands of Ohio. Here the battle with the woods was renewed. But the fields were extended and the woods receded. The Pennsylvania Dutch were thrifty. The New England Yankees said they built bigger barns than houses. Adam and Barbara grew old. Their children were all settled comfortably on farms cleared from the woods. But they were not rich. Once more the westward urge was irresistible. Peter Lepley made the venturesome journey of eight hundred miles to Union Township, Hardin County, Iowa, where he selected a farm half timber and half prairie. Others followed until there were ten Lepleys in the township. Like most settlers from the wooded east they chose lands in or near woods bordering streams. All owned timber lands. In cutting wood they spared the good trees and cut only the poor ones.

[154] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, p. 114.

Many are the examples of the Lepley love for trees. It was Manuel Lepley at Union who saved the ten-acre tract, an untouched beauty spot of trees and native flowers, now Lepley Park, on a hillside by the Glacier Trail. Manuel had said to his five sons: "I want the good timber left. Don't cut anything healthy and straight. We will not pasture it." When he died the sons donated the tract to the State of Iowa for a roadside park.

On August 26, 1923, a Lepley reunion was held in Lepley Park. The group numbered two hundred. Besides the delight in meeting scattered kin, there was pardonable pride in the beautiful forest meeting place which had been dedicated to worthy pioneers, and preserved for visitors of the years to come.[155]

Theo. F. Clark State Park.— Central Iowa has another small State park, also a gift, the Theo. F. Clark Park on Wolfe Creek, four and a half miles northeast of Traer in Tama County. It was donated to the State by Mrs. May Clark McCornack, a descendant of Theo. F. Clark, and the deed was accepted by the Executive Council on April 22, 1921. The area embraces some twenty-four acres of level land on both sides of Wolfe Creek. It has a great variety of trees and herbaceous plants, as well as of birds, snakes, and furbearing animals.[156]

Pilot Knob State Park.— Aside from the lake parks in which the larger part of the area is water, the Pilot Knob State Park, four miles east of Forest City and south of the county line between Hancock and Winnebago counties, is the largest in northern Iowa, its area being close to three

[155] Hays's *A Story of Woods and Axes and Men* in *The Iowa Magazine*, 1924, pp. 231, 238. See also *History of Hardin County, Iowa* (1883), pp. 938, 947.

[156] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 119.

hundred acres.[157] The hills of this region are huge piles of clay, gravel, and boulders, said to have been a part of the eastern moraine of the Wisconsin drift.[158]

This region was known to the Indians, who frequented the place, and who even after the coming of the white settlers in the fifties, returned for occasional visits. A solitary Indian is said to have remained after all the others left. He lived in a neat little log cabin by a tiny lake nestling high up in the hills. It was thought that he had refused to follow his tribe because of some slight or disappointment. So he lived his days out by the picturesque little lake and when his end came, he was buried in a now forgotten cave. Before his death he had been known to them as the "Dead Man" and the lake as the "Lake of the Dead Man"—"*Woetg la Las Joui Olu*".[159]

Early Hancock County settlers took up land near Pilot Knob, cut trees, hewed logs, and raised their cabins close by. They also hunted deer and occasionally had encounters with black bears. Maben's Grove to the south of the Knob is rich in local history. There for many years was held the annual old settlers' picnic. Later the Knob was a favorite resort for summer tourists. It inspired Eugene Secor, horticulturist, poet, lover of bees and of the out-of-doors, to write his poem entitled *Pilot Knob*.[160]

During an outing of the teachers of Hancock County Teachers' Institute to the Knob on a hot day in July, 1902, it was suggested that it be made into a State park.[161] The

[157] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 117, 118.

[158] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. 128.

[159] Prewitt's *Dead Man's Lake Has Own Indian Story* in *The Iowa Magazine*, 1924, pp. 431, 436, 437; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 397.

[160] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 6, 12, 14; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa*, p. 397.

[161] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 12.

successful efforts made nearly a score of years later to actually establish the park were due to such people as Dr. L. H. Pammel, Curator E. R. Harlan, Dr. Thomas H. Macbride, Dr. Bohumil Shimek, Eugene Secor, Mrs. C. H. McNider, Mrs. Ethel Thompson, M. M. Thompson, E. J. Olson, W. R. Prewitt, Thorwald Thorson, A. M. Deyoe, O. E. Gunderson, John R. Waller, and many other citizens of Hancock and Winnebago counties. The citizens of the latter county offered to donate one hundred and twenty acres of the tract. On July 19, 1921, the Executive Council authorized the purchase of the lands near Pilot Knob and the transactions completing the purchase had been carried out by May 9, 1922.[162]

The Pilot Knob State Park was dedicated on September 11, 1924. The weather was unfavorable and the exercises were held in the Forest City opera house with an audience of about four hundred people. After a lunch served by the ladies of Forest City, a program was rendered consisting of an invocation by Reverend Harold Tomkinson, vocal music by the Forest City Chorus, instrumental music by the Forest City Band, the reading of Eugene Secor's poem *Pilot Knob* by Master Robert Hansen, a speech of presentation by Dr. Pammel, and a speech of acceptance and dedication by Byron W. Newberry. In opening the exercises the presiding officer, M. M. Thompson, spoke feelingly of the part Forest City had taken in the creation of the park and how Eugene Secor's dream of conserving one of nature's gifts to Iowa had come true.

Dr. Pammel sketched the history of the acquisition of the area and described its scenery, its flora, and its fauna. He reminded the audience that Pilot Knob with an altitude of fourteen hundred and fifty feet is the second highest point of land in the State — only Ocheyedan Mound in Osceola

[162] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 6, 9, 18, 19.

County, which is sixteen hundred and seventy feet above sea level is higher. From the top of the Knob spectators may behold "one of the most charming and extensive landscapes ever seen by human eye; a perfect Garden of Eden lying at their feet and extending for forty miles in every direction as far as the vision extends, showing to the astonished beholder one of the richest and best improved farming sections to be found anywhere under the sun."

"The wooded Tract", he said, "contains the trees commonly found in this section of Iowa: white oak, red northern pin and burr oaks, basswood, pignut, hickory, black walnut, slippery elm, American elm, hackberry, butternut, black cherry, choke cherry, wild crab, plum, haws and dogwoods." In the spring the woods are covered with hepatica, dutchman's breeches, wind flower, mandrake, blue and yellow violets, sweet william, and dog toothed violets. In the autumn and late summer golden rods of various kinds, blue, white, and New England asters, sunflowers, bonesets, joe-pye-weed, and jewel weeds may be seen. "The little lake surrounded by glacial mounds," he added, "contains wild rice, white water lily, spatterdock, arrow head, water plantain and at one time the red water shield."

"The animal life", he continued, "is interesting. Once we had the wild turkey, ruffed grouse and prairie chicken and deer. They are gone. We still have some of the aquatic birds, the brown thresher, robin, blue jay, whippoor-will, mourning dove, owls and hawks. There are still brown squirrels, and an occasional red fox, badger, and muskrat. There should be more and we will have these when conditions have readjusted themselves."

Senator Byron W. Newberry accepted the park on behalf of the Governor and the Executive Council and dedicated it "for the use and enjoyment of all the people of our commonwealth", adding the prayer that it might be kept for-

ever "free from the hands of vandalism and the inroads of commercialism."

W. E. G. Saunders concluded the dedicatory exercises with a few remarks about the program of the State Board of Conservation in its efforts to preserve the beauty spots of Iowa.[163]

Since the creation of this park an extensive program for its development has been worked out by a landscape architect under the direction of the Board of Conservation. It is proposed to build trails and roads connecting the various points of interest in the park, lay out picnic and parking areas, build an outdoor theatre, park shelters, and a home and office for the custodian. Dead Man's Lake, now called Secor Lake, is to be cleaned and otherwise improved and encircled by a trail connecting with the general trail system of the park.[164]

Clinton Merrick State Park.— Forest City is the gateway city to two State parks — Pilot Knob and Clinton Merrick State Park, the latter adjacent to the city. The latter park of only five acres is the gift of Clinton Merrick of Forest City to the State, to which it was deeded on August 24, 1922.

It was dedicated on the same day as Pilot Knob in the presence of some three hundred people. W. R. Prewitt presided. Reverend L. R. Hall pronounced the invocation, sketching also the story of the life of the donor. Clinton Merrick was originally an Illinoian born in Kendall County of that State in 1846. The impressionable lad early felt the wrong of slavery and enlisted as drummer in the Seventeenth Illinois Cavalry during the Civil War. In 1880 he purchased eighty acres of land near Forest City and lived on this farm until 1912 when he moved to Forest City and

[163] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 2, 4–12; *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. 153.

[164] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 170–181.

built a little cottage on the tract which is now the park. When the cottage was completed he had a barbecue and everybody was invited as guest for he was exceedingly generous, public-spirited, and sociable, though never married. He died at Sawtelle, California, December 9, 1923.

The gift was an outgrowth of one of Merrick's strong life interests. Very fittingly, therefore, did Dr. L. H. Pammell in presenting the park to the State, and W. C. Merckens in accepting it on behalf of Governor Kendall, voice the hope that the park might ever keep alive the memory of Clinton Merrick—"a true and humble friend of conservation."

The park contains several species of trees and flowers, and its wild plant and animal life is quite varied for so small an area. Since its acceptance it has been improved with a shelter house, camp areas, and other conveniences. The Clinton Merrick Park is chiefly of value to the people of Forest City to which the State has turned over its supervision, and consequently it does not appear in the most recent list of *Iowa State Parks*.[165]

Rice Lake State Park.— In the north central and northwestern part of Iowa are several meandered lakes which, with the view to ultimately making them into State parks, were placed under the administration of the Board of Conservation by the law of 1921, discussed elsewhere in this paper.[166] One of these is Rice Lake which is a shallow sheet of water stretching out a mile or two in each direction. Its waters surround many interesting wooded islands, some of whose banks rise to fifteen or twenty feet above the water level. These islands were attractive to summer campers who had built cottages there before 1903. A tract

[165] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 2–4, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 118; letter from W. C. Merckens to Bruce E. Mahan, dated May 24, 1928.

[166] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 16, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 98–107.

of the wooded shoreland covering an area of fifty acres has been acquired through an appropriation by the Executive Council and through the munificence of Lake Mills citizens. This area together with the lake constitute the Rice Lake State Park. It has a varied lowland flora and fauna. The muskrat is common here. On the uplands may be seen an occasional raccoon and flying squirrel.[167]

Wall Lake State Park.— The early settlers in Wright County were impressed by the line or "wall" of boulders around the margin of what was called Wall Lake. Was this the work of giants or Indians — prehistoric or historic? Geologists later gave the assurance that this was not a work of man, but a product of natural forces. Through the freezing and heaving of the lake during a long period of time, these boulders had been arranged along the shores especially on the northwest side. The lake soon attracted those in search of recreation and for more than a half century it has been a favorite resort for hunters, fishers, and boating parties. The chief glory of its aquatic flora is the white water lily which covers several acres, and the most interesting representatives of its fauna are the blue herons. These birds have their nests on an island in the lake.

Wall Lake has a meandered area of nine hundred and thirty-five acres. Its greatest depth is more than five feet. In order to obtain a part of the shore land for park purposes the Executive Council in 1922 started condemnation proceedings, and a tract of twelve acres has since been acquired. This is thoroughly a rural park, the nearest town, Blairsburg, being ten miles distant.[168]

[167] *Iowa Geological Survey*, Vol. XIII, p. 90; *Iowa Official Register*, 1925-1926, p. 661; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 106, No. 5, p. 137.

[168] *Iowa Geological Survey*, Vol. VII, p. 135; Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa*, 1875, p. 368; *Iowa Official Register*, 1923-1924, p. 613; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 107, 108.

Twin Lakes State Park.—Twin Lakes are located in the southern part of Calhoun County. Though the North Lake at times was dry, these waters have long attracted a large number of summer visitors. The meander line of the North Lake incloses five hundred and sixty-nine acres, and that of the South Lake five hundred and ninety-six acres. The depth of the water is about six feet. The banks are clothed with a varied lowland and upland flora. In 1923 the Executive Council started condemnation proceedings of the Ramsey tract abutting the North Twin Lake, and fifteen acres have since been purchased and improved. The dedication exercises on October 10, 1926, drew an estimated audience of seven thousand. Senator Perry C. Holdoegel, a sponsor for the first park act of the General Assembly, gave an address. Dr. Pammel, then Chairman of the State Board of Conservation, formally presented the park to the State. Mrs. E. F. Armstrong, representing Governor Hammill, accepted the park for the State and pleaded for "the intervention of some good fairy" to make needed additions to the land area possible.[169]

Eagle Lake State Park.—A description of the lakes in Hancock County in the *Iowa Geological Survey* states that Eagle Lake was formerly more attractive and lake-like than now. In 1903 it had an area of more than one thousand acres. Its greatest depth was said to be about eight feet. It had good beaches and there were cottages on the western shore. In 1923 the Executive Council appropriated money for the purchase of land on the shore and twenty-seven acres were acquired. The people in Britt enthusiastically espoused the cause of the park project and contributed both work and money towards its improvement. Plants

[169] *Iowa Geological Survey*, Vol. XIII, p. 89; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 10, Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, p. 12, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 102, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 82–93.

have been set out and a fine shelter house built in an ideal situation. When the groves of wild crabapple and plum trees bloom, Eagle Lake State Park, it is said, "puts on her best and smiles her sweetest."[170]

Clear Lake State Park.— Clear Lake in Cerro Gordo County is located on the border of the Wisconsin and Iowa drift. Genetically it is related to the type of morainic depressions called kettle holes — saucer-shaped ponds, some of which have become peat bogs. It is surrounded by low hills except at the east end and at the outlet through Willow Creek. According to the *Iowa Geological Survey* it had a maximum depth of fifteen feet in 1897 and is probably fed by underground springs since it receives but little surface water.[171]

The rise of the park and conservation movement created a strong desire for State ownership of at least part of the shore line of this beautiful lake. Citizens of Clear Lake, too, shared this sentiment. For years Mrs. Carrie P. Sondrol and Mrs. C. H. McNider worked faithfully to arouse the business men of the county and others to the importance of providing for the future by setting aside a tract of woodland bordering on the lake. Finally in 1924 the Executive Council took action and appropriated money to purchase twenty acres with a lake frontage of nine hundred and forty feet. This together with the 3643 acres within the meandered line constitutes the Clear Lake State Park. Its value to the conservation of wild life is greatly enhanced by the fact that west of the lake is a bird and plant reserve.

Clear Lake and its shores have been called Iowa's happiest playground. "There are the country club, the golf

[170] *Iowa Geological Survey,* Vol. XIII, pp. 89, 90; *Iowa Official Register,* 1923-1924, p. 661; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, No. 6, p. 26, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 105, 106.

[171] *Iowa Geological Survey,* Vol. VII, pp. 134–142.

links, tennis and dancing. There are drives and promenades, shady trees or open grass plots — all pleading for his (the visitor's) attention and with all these comes the rarest of all outdoor diversions — boating, bathing, fishing, and picnicking. So, exhausted vitality is coaxed back, if not in one way, then in another."[172]

Storm Lake State Park.— Storm Lake with its area of 3080 acres is located in Buena Vista County. It is another of the beautiful lakes of Iowa. It has a fine body of water varying in depth from seven to nine feet. Along the shores in a few places are "slippery and American elms, basswood, green ash, bur oak, cottonwood, almond and black willows, besides considerable quantities of sand bar willow in low ground. Fishing at Storm Lake is good. The Storm Lake Park, a tract of eighteen acres, was partly given and partly purchased by the State in 1925.[173] Boating and swimming are popular sports here.

Oakland Mills State Park.— This park is located in Henry County on both sides of the Skunk River which flows through a country of great natural beauty. Its current is so swift that it invited the establishment of early manufacturing plants. First a woolen mill was built and later a flour mill on the site of the present Oakland Mills. The machinery of the woolen mill was moved away and the buildings "spotted with decay" before 1879. At that time the flour mill was still in operation grinding the farmers' grist. The mill and a few dwellings then constituted the town. At a more recent date the construction of a hydroelectric plant resulted in the formation of a considerable

[172] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 99–103; *Iowa Parks,* 1919, p. 103.

[173] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, p. 101; letter from W. C. Merckens to Bruce E. Mahan, dated May 22, 1928.

artificial lake above the dam. The park, adjacent to the lake, contains an area of one hundred and ten acres and was acquired by purchase before 1920. The park land is broken by gulches and has some fine limestone outcrops. The vegetation includes many species of herbaceous plants, shrubs, and trees.[174]

Oakland Mills is a small station on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. The nearest large town is Mount Pleasant. Salem, a nearby town south of the Skunk River, was settled by Quakers, and is sometimes referred to as the Quaker capital of Henry County.[175]

Flint Hills State Park.— The region along the busy little stream, Flint River, in Des Moines County — east of Henry County — is one of historic interest and natural beauty. At the mouth of this river there was a trading post of the American Fur Company as early as 1808. The company did a thriving business with the Indians who resorted to this place also for the sake of flint for arrowheads. The Indians called the place "Shok-ko-kon." At one time there was a Fox village about a mile above the trading post. White settlers began to arrive in 1832 and 1833. A town sprang up to the south, first called Flint Hills, and later Burlington, which became the first Territorial capital in Iowa.[176]

About a mile north of West Burlington there is a wooded tract which descends to the banks of the Flint River. It contains a great variety of plants and plenty of excellent

[174] *History of Henry County, Iowa* (1879), p. 555; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 116, No. 5, p. 132, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 32; *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. xi, 269. See also the list of *Iowa State Parks* furnished by the State Board of Conservation for the size of the various parks.

[175] *Atlas of the State of Iowa*, 1904, p. 311; *History of Henry County, Iowa* (1879), p. 536.

[176] *The History of Des Moines County* (1879), pp. 365, 366. Antrobus's *History of Des Moines County, Iowa, and its People*, pp. 47, 50.

spring water. Its chief attractions, however, are the caves in the stone outcrops, the largest of which is Starr's Cave, named for W. H. Starr, a Burlington resident, who once owned the land and whose house built about 1860 still stands on this tract. It is said that the cave was entered in bygone days by swinging into it from the branches of a tall sycamore. It may now be entered by steps, built within the past thirty years. "Always has the Starr Cave district been a playground for the Burlingtonians — the Mecca of countless pilgrimages of childish feet in search of adventure; an ideal picnic rendezvous for the elders."

The purchase of the Starr's Cave tract was approved by the Executive Council in 1924, and a considerable part of the purchase price of the two hundred acres to be acquired was subscribed by citizens of Burlington. There the matter ended. Due to the high price asked for the land Starr's Cave tract was not purchased.

But in 1925 a tract of some one hundred acres was secured as the nucleus for a park, some three miles north of Burlington, and one-half mile east of the Starr's Cave region. This was purchased with funds appropriated by the State Board of Conservation and an equal amount donated by citizens of Burlington. There are splendid ravines covered with fine trees in the park. Many varieties of trees, shrubs, and plants are found here. Originally listed as the *Burlington Tract,* the name of this park now appears on the list furnished by the State Board of Conservation as *Flint Hills.*[177]

Wild Cat Den State Park.— North of Burlington there are few more picturesque spots along the Mississippi River than the Wild Cat Den in Muscatine County. This region

[177] *Census of Iowa,* 1925, p. lxxi; *The Iowa Magazine,* 1924, pp. 268, 282; *Iowa Official Register,* 1925-1926, pp. 660, 661; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 37–41; *Iowa State Parks,* a list published by the State Board of Conservation.

was first settled by Benjamin Nye and other redoubtable frontiersmen in 1833 or 1834. Nye laid out a town near the mouth of Pine Creek which, however, failed to materialize. In company with a Major Gordon he also established a store, offering such goods as coffee, sugar, molasses, salt, pork, and whisky to the white settlers. Nye was indeed a man of enterprise, for he is furthermore credited with the building of three mills, one of which was built in 1850 at a cost of ten thousand dollars and is still in a good state of preservation.

Among the later settlers were a large number of Germans, thrifty, home-loving, and with a deep sense of the value of conservation. This was particularly true of the Zieglers and the Brandts, the latter of whom owned a part of the land which in 1926 became the Wild Cat Den State Park. Many years before this time the Brandt sisters — Emma and Clara — had made this tract a plant and animal reserve; and in the true spirit of the conservationist, they had guarded it against all manner of petty vandalism.

This reserve contains such rare Iowa plants as shield, Christmas, and maidenhair ferns and the northerly white pines; and such rare Iowa animals as opossums and coyotes, besides a large number of the more common species. This varied wealth of wild life early attracted naturalists. Dr. C. C. Parry of Davenport, Ferdinand Reppert, Dr. Pammel, and Dr. Shimek made extensive studies of the area, and students from the Chicago and Iowa universities occasionally came here to study in this out-door laboratory.

Within a mile and a half of this park stands the New Era Community Center — a cluster of buildings containing a church, a parsonage, and a gymnasium, all of fine architectural design. The church — the Ziegler Memorial Lutheran Church — is the gift of William Ziegler; and the gymnasium is the gift of the Brandt sisters to the young people of

the church. Both the religious and recreational work is directed by the pastor. Another historic place only three and a half miles southwest of the Wild Cat Den is the town, Fairport, where there is a United States biological station established largely as a direct result of the development of the clam pearl button industry by J. F. Boepple, a German immigrant.[178]

Palisades-Kepler State Park.— In a region stretching in a northeasterly direction from a point below Cedar Rapids on the Cedar River to Bellevue on the Mississippi River are four State parks. The first of these — the Palisades — is located about fifteen miles below Cedar Rapids on the Cedar River. It was acquired in 1922 and embraces about one hundred and forty acres of flood plain, upland woods, and vertical cliffs of limestone rising from the river upwards of ninety feet, recalling both in name and appearance the higher Palisades of the Hudson River. The Louis Kepler Memorial Tract, which adjoins the Palisades area, was acquired by gift in 1927. The combined area of the two parks is listed as one hundred and fifty-one acres, and is referred to by the State Board of Conservation as the Kepler-Palisades Park or the Palisades-Kepler Park. When Mr. Kepler made a will to donate the Kepler tract to the State he asked that the late W. G. Haskell and Dr. C. R. Keyes act as trustees of the area until it became a State park.[179]

[178] Richman's *History of Muscatine County*, Vol. I, pp. 209–213, 215, 271, Vol. II, pp. 690, 691; *The History of Muscatine County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 398, 400, 401, 402; *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. 72–76; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 123, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 56, No. 3, p. 97.

[179] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 121; Brewer and Wick's *History of Linn County, Iowa*, p. 26; *Iowa Official Register*, 1923-1924, p. 613; Wick's *The Palisades of the Cedar River* in *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. III, pp. 66, 67; *Census of Iowa*, 1925, p. lxxii; information furnished by W. C. Merckens, Secretary of the State Board of Conservation.

This varied topographical area affords protection to a very large number of native plants and animals. One writer observed one hundred and twenty-one different species of birds. Badgers, opossums, raccoons, skunks, minks, foxes, wolves, turkey vultures, ruffed grouse, blue grosbeaks, quails, cedar waxwings, and cardinals may be observed here. And "all of this is Nature's gift to those who see and hear with their brains and their hearts as well as with their eyes and their ears."

There are lovely views if one follows the path which leads up the river past a "fleet of river craft; past the Inn; past the pool with its islands of brush; past the groves of wild plums and wild crab apple, in spring foliage and blossom"; on till the path reaches the cultivated fields "there meeting the trail that leads along the fence past the great trees of the moist bottomland. One may leave the river path at right angles, in front of the inn, pass the spring and on out follow the country roads toward Cedar Rapids or Mount Vernon."[180]

The park region, too, is of some historic interest. A molar tooth of a mammoth elephant found here speaks of a past so distant that the time of the historic Indians, who had their abode by the Palisades after the arrival of the first white settlers, seems but as yesterday. Westport, the first town in Linn County, was laid out in this neighborhood in 1838. It aspired to be the county seat, but its site is now a cornfield. Other evidences of the earlier activities of white men are the rusting iron rails of a discarded railroad track and the ruins of a mill for crushing rock. Within the lovely rural surroundings of the Palisades lies Mount Vernon, which was laid out in 1847. The city of

[180] Cole's *May Days at the Upper Palisades of the Cedar* in *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, pp. 24–27, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 121; Lazell's *The Palisades of the Cedar* in *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. 95–98.

Cedar Rapids is not far from the Kepler tract adjoining the Palisades Park.[181]

Wapsipinicon State Park.— The second in the series of these State parks in east central Iowa is the Wapsipinicon Park situated along the river by the same name on the outskirts of Anamosa. Its flora and fauna and even its scenic attractions are much like those of the Palisades. The Wapsipinicon Park, however, is larger as it contains two hundred and twenty acres. Both parks have been improved with roads since their acquisition. The Wapsipinicon Park was acquired in 1921, the larger part of the purchase price being paid by the citizens of Anamosa. The road-building in this park was done by inmates of the State Reformatory at Anamosa.

An examination of two caves in this area led to some very interesting discoveries of Indian remains. With its many fine trees, its road skirting the limestone ledges and the Wapsipinicon River, and its scenery this park has become very popular. Clifford L. Niles of Anamosa, a strong advocate of the State park movement and formerly a member of the State Board of Conservation, has taken a special interest in the development of this park.[182]

Maquoketa Caves State Park.— The third park in this series has an area of but sixteen acres, but it contains some of the really natural wonders of Iowa — the Natural Bridge and the Morehead Caves located in the southwestern part of Jackson County. Both of these phenomena typify "the great erosive and dissolving power of running water

[181] *The History of Linn County* (1878), pp. 343, 457, 557, 558, 559, 560; Wick's *The Palisades of the Cedar River* in *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. III, pp. 66, 67.

[182] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 3, No. 6, p. 26, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 114, 115.

and combining in their features both the majesty and the beauty of Nature's work." Although formerly known as Morehead Caves Park this area is now listed by the State Board of Conservation as Maquoketa Caves.[183]

The Morehead Caves were formerly known as Burt's Caves. They were discovered by Joshua Bear and David Scott, while the county was yet unsettled. When first discovered these caves "were ceiled by one dazzling array of milk-white stalactites, from whose points the limewater was constantly dripping. These glistened in the light of the torches like so many jewels, and presented a scene of wonderful beauty. An avidity for relics amounting to positive vandalism has robbed the rooms of much of these attractions." Some of the stalactites were up to three feet long, some were hollow, many of them translucent, almost transparent, and others of a dull muddy color. Neither minerals nor fossils of any importance have been found. Other similar caves were discovered in Jackson County, the largest of which are Hunter's or Cottonville Caves discovered about 1857 during a coon hunt.[184]

In describing the natural bridge by the caves, Dr. James H. Lees states that "enthusiasm, however exuberant, is entirely pardonable." And in this strain he continues: "While of course it is not comparable in dimensions with the immense natural bridges of Utah, so far as massive architectural beauty, the coloration of the rock and the crown of foliage which covers its summit, can compensate for smaller size, Iowa's natural bridge surely excels those of the barren west. The top of the arch is flat, perhaps forty or fifty feet above the floor of the valley and bears upon its broad back several large trees, besides a complete

[183] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 3, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 115; *Iowa State Parks*, a list published by the State Board of Conservation.

[184] *The History of Jackson County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 350–352.

covering of smaller vegetation. The arch itself rises twenty feet or so above the base and is twenty or thirty feet thick."[185]

The Morehead Caves and the natural bridge are situated in the heart of a fine agricultural country. Only a short distance away is the open prairie with its rich flora and fertile Iowa farms. The nearest larger town is Maquoketa, eight miles to the southeast. The park was acquired by the State in 1921. Its former owner, W. H. Morehead, who had lived there twenty-three years, became the honorary custodian.[186]

Bellevue State Park.— The other State park in Jackson County is located south of Bellevue on the Mississippi River, and has an area of sixty-six acres. It commands superb views of the great river and the sand dunes and government proving grounds on the Wisconsin shore. Several kinds of rock outcrops make this area especially attractive to the student of geology. The Galena limestone and shales are clearly shown in the bed of Mill Creek, and there are Niagara limestone deposits thirteen feet thick. The student of botany may here study the paper birch which clings to the sides of the bluffs, and red cedars said to be at least three hundred years old, besides many other species of Iowa plant life. The fauna, too, contains a large number of species.[187]

Much of the history of this region has long claimed the attention of the Iowa historian. Immediately below Bellevue was an Indian burying ground and at one time a Sac village. Earlier remains of Indian life were disclosed by

[185] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 115.

[186] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 3; *Davenport Democrat*, June 19, 1921.

[187] *Census of Iowa*, 1925, p. lxxi; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 121.

a heap of clam shells and a mound twenty-five feet high and forty feet in base diameter. In the upper layers was the body of a recent burial and farther down a rude stone vault — finds of more than usual significance for Iowa archeology.

White settlers began to arrive in this region in 1833 and the town of Bellevue — first called Belleview — was incorporated in 1836. In 1840 it was the scene of the Bellevue War, one of the most lurid scenes in early Iowa history. From 1837 to 1841 and again from 1848 to 1861, Bellevue was the county seat of Jackson County.[188] The people of Bellevue were not only intensely interested in having this park established, but they also supported every movement for making the park better and for restoring its natural features.[189]

Fort Atkinson State Park.— In 1919 a ringing appeal to the patriotism of Iowa was made for the preservation of what remained of old Fort Atkinson located in Winneshiek County, northeastern Iowa. Rich memories of frontier life in early Iowa clustered around this place from the time, 1840–1848, when the Winnebagoes occupied the surrounding country, before their removal to Minnesota. There one of the first successful attempts had been made to teach the Indian children to read and write and the Indian braves to work for a living. The wider environment was rich both in natural beauty spots and later historic associations. The nearby Spillville is an important place in the history of the Bohemians in Iowa and Decorah is one of the intellectual centers of the Norwegians in Iowa and the United States.

[188] *The History of Jackson County, Iowa* (1879), pp. 531–535, 544, 549–552. Both sides of the Bellevue War are given on pp. 612–619. For this event see also Reid's *Thomas Cox*, pp. 122–155.

[189] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 137.

The building of Fort Atkinson was begun in 1840 and completed in 1842 when "four long rectangular barracks, two of stone and two of logs hewn flat, enclosed a square parade and drill ground of more than an acre." Gun-houses, a powder house, and a quartermaster's storehouse occupied the corners. A picket fence twelve feet high with loop holes inclosed the buildings. The fort and the road to the Mississippi River were constructed at a cost of ninety thousand dollars.[190] A garrison occupied the buildings until 1849 when they were left in charge of a lone caretaker until they were sold at public auction in 1853 for $3521. The site remained private property until 1921, when the remaining buildings — a gun house, a powder house, the quartermaster's office, and a part of the soldiers' barracks — together with five acres of land, once more became public property, and were set aside as a State park, largely through the generosity of the citizens of the town of Fort Atkinson.[191]

Flanders-Bixby State Park.— Southwestern and south-central Iowa have few State parks and all have been so recently acquired that there has not been time for extended improvements such as have been noticed in the earlier acquired areas. In the fall of 1923, M. D. Flanders tendered the State a small tract of land for park purposes near the town of Hamilton in Marion County. It has been named the Flanders-Bixby State Park in honor of his parents. This little park is situated in a valley through

[190] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 120; *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. 103–109; Mahan's *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier*, pp. 216, 231, 232. See also Clum's *Fort Atkinson a Pigsty* in *The Iowa Magazine*, 1919, pp. 7, 8, 27–29.

[191] Mahan's *Old Fort Crawford and the Frontier*, pp. 221, 223, 224, 239, 240; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 120; *Iowa Official Register*, 1923-1924, p. 612.

which flows a creek exposing ledges of coal measure sandstone covered with several kinds of ferns, asters, and goldenrods. There are also many other species of herbaceous plants and woodlands with fine second growth trees. It is expected that in time this small tract will be enlarged. For the present it does not appear on the list of State parks published by the Board of Conservation.[192]

Elbert Tract State Park.— Within the last few years the State has taken over for park purposes the Elbert estate of two hundred and sixty-one acres near the little town Commerce in Polk County. This area consists of sandy bottoms, a part of which is subject to overflow. From a scientific standpoint, declares Dr. Pammel, it is quite different from any other park created by the State. Many of the trees are of the original forest. The red elms are some of the largest of this kind in the State. Being only about ten miles from Des Moines, the development of this area will be of great recreational importance especially to the capital city.[193]

Devil's Backbone State Park.— The individuals or committees on geographical nomenclature in early Iowa were not without a certain quality of sardonic humor. This is seen in the names that they chose for such topographical features as the rocky ridges in Delaware and Madison counties, each of which they designated as "Devil's Backbone". Rather than recalling activities of his Satanic Majesty, however, they recall the time when Iowa was occupied by the Indians; and the region surrounding the Devil's Back-

[192] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. I, No. 4, p. 3, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 124; information from W. C. Merckens, Secretary of the State Board of Conservation.

[193] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, No. 6, p. 14, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 117, No. 5, p. 132.

bone in Madison County has not without justification been called an area where "Indian Iowa" has been preserved. It is "a charming bit of scenery cut out of the one time level plain of south central Iowa."

The park is located in sections fifteen and sixteen in Lincoln Township on the Middle River. It contains two hundred and ten acres of land acquired by the State in 1924. Winterset, the nearest large town, lies about five miles to the northeast.[194]

The Middle River enters the park area and "fights" its way through timbered limestone hills. The river "twists, and winds, and turns, along steep, rocky bluffs for two miles over limestone beds and rocky riffles, until it comes almost back into itself, stopped by a narrow, straight-up backbone of rock barely a hundred feet wide at its base, and then it sweeps along and away at the base of a magnificent timbered rock bluff. A mile more and it has fought clear through the Upper Carboniferous rocks, makes one more turn, and then takes up the ordinary peaceful pursuit of Iowa's streams, of winding back and forth through mud banks across a comparatively straight valley."[195]

On the hogback there is a prairie flora which shades off into the flowers, shrubs, and trees of the woodlands. Interspersed with the native trees are a large number of planted trees, especially conifers and white birches. Foxes and wolves and many other species of animals have their haunts in the quiet nooks and sheltered places.[196]

Geologically the ridge reveals chapters in the history of

[194] *Iowa Parks*, p. 163; Goshorn's *Where "Indian Iowa" is Preserved* in *The Iowa Magazine*, 1924, p. 111.

[195] Goshorn's *Where "Indian Iowa" is Preserved* in *The Iowa Magazine*, 1924, p. 111.

[196] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, pp. 165, 166, 167; Goshorn's *Where "Indian Iowa" is Preserved* in *The Iowa Magazine*, 1924, p. 111; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 5, pp. 133, 134.

the carboniferous or coal measure formations. The outcrops expose layers of limestones between which there is a layer of shale. The limestone layers tell of quiet and clear oceanic conditions when myriads of humble types of life peopled the waters and the ocean floor. These rocks are built up of the remains of those life forms in the remote past. The shale tells of a relatively brief period when the waters were more turbid and mud and silt were carried into the sea from shore and rivers. The Middle River cut its valley in the plain either before the Pleistocene period or else in the interval between the Nebraskan and the Kansan glaciers.[197]

The Indians loved these rocks, woods, and waters. The early settlers arriving in 1846 and the following years found evidences of the "Red Man's" rude methods of industry in the many wooden troughs used for catching the "sugar water", which lay scattered about in the woods. A cache of iron kettles near the present Afton bridge spoke of the white man's influence on the Indian's economic life.[198]

Some of the first industrial establishments in this region were the flour and saw mills. Having discovered in 1855 that by tunneling a mill race through the shale stratum of the narrowest part of the ridge, a stream of water could be diverted from the higher level of the river on the west side to the lower level on the east side, Tilman G. Harmon dug a tunnel under the ridge, and built a mill on the east side. The original tunnel was six feet by six feet, and a hundred feet long. In the work of digging it Harmon was assisted by his two sons. They also built a dam — an affair of brush and logs on the west side. The water

[197] *Iowa Parks,* 1919, p. 165.

[198] Goshorn's *Where "Indian Iowa" is Preserved* in *The Iowa Magazine,* 1924, p. 111; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 5, p. 134.

flowing through the tunnel fell twenty feet on the wheel and gave all the power needed for grinding grist and sawing wood.

It was a picturesque mill set up as it was in the deep woods against the rock-faced cliffs, the water flowing silently in the sluice out of the dark, low tunnel, falling on the wheel below and then pouring into the noisy river. It was first a flour mill, but this mill as well as the other southern Iowa flour mills died when spring wheat ceased to be a good crop in that part of the State. Then the water wheel was harnessed to a saw until the surrounding woods were denuded of merchantable timber and the mill wheels ceased humming. "Maybe some day the State will restore the old mill, and dam, and road, and show young Iowa a real old-time water mill."

The freshets between 1870 and 1880 broke through the tunnel and enlarged it considerably. It is now forty feet wide and from ten to fifteen feet high. An automobile may be driven through it safely, as a parkway has been made through the old tunnel.[199]

Hamburg Tract State Park.— The State park farthest to the southwest lies six miles to the westward of both Hamburg and Sidney in Fremont County. Its area embraces two hundred acres of the loess hills overlooking the valley of the Missouri River. Loess supports a flora somewhat different from that of other soil areas. On the prairies of the loess hills here may be seen such plants as wild beard tongue or fox glove, stemless loco weed, blue aster, white aster, silky aster, snow-on-the-mountain, Missouri goldenrod, flat topped goldenrod, yucca or Spanish bayonet, yellow paintbrush, side oats, bluestem, sweet

[199] Goshorn's *Where "Indian Iowa" is Preserved* in *The Iowa Magazine*, 1924, p. 111; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 134, Vol. IV, No. 5 and 6, p. 154.

william, and in the shaded ravines hepatica, rue anemone, blood root, and others. Other soil areas have a flora similar to that of the rest of southern Iowa. The fauna contains a varied number of the common Iowa species.[200]

This park, purchased by the State in 1926, has yielded finds of a remote geological past as well as of prehistoric and historic Indian periods. Years before the white man came into the possession of these hills, the Indians met here to plot wars or to sign treaties by smoking pipes of peace.[201]

Early Fremont County history abounds in recollections of "border troubles" and of the founding of towns and colleges. Sidney was surveyed in 1851. Hamburg was laid out in 1857, and named by a young German Indian trader who had conceived the project of establishing a town to be named for his native city near the mouth of the Elbe. Possibly the most interesting group of the early settlers in this corner of Iowa, were the Oberlin people who founded Tabor and Tabor College that the West might share in the high ideals of the East.[202]

Lewis and Clark State Park.— Farther up the Missouri River is a large lake park, the Lewis and Clark State Park, situated four miles in a westerly direction from Onawa in Monona County. The lake — Blue Lake — incloses within its meander line 1599 acres, and the park itself contains more than six hundred acres. The lake is shaped like an ox-bow, its formation being due to the shifting channel of the Missouri. In 1804 it was a part of the river's channel. The sand bars and sand dunes

[200] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 122, 123.

[201] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 13, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 63; *Iowa Official Register*, 1927-1928, p. 568.

[202] Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 423.

are partly covered with such native trees as boxelders, soft maples, cottonwoods, American elms, green ash, almond-leaved, black, diamond, and sandbar willows, as well as some planted white and jack pine and red cedars. One of the remarkable sights is a bed of American lotus growing in the shallow waters at the northwest end of the lake. The aquatic life is abundant and the lake offers good fishing.[203]

The members of the Lewis and Clark expedition appear to have been the first white men in this region. These explorers spent several days in early August, 1804, on the river and the shores along Monona and the adjoining counties. In his detailed journal, Clark makes many interesting observations on geography, plants, and animals — observations the interest of which is enhanced by his peculiar spelling. He notes that "Beever is verry Plenty". He saw "great nos. of wild gees" and also "Great Nos. of Herrons". Elk were shot. The party found "great quantities of Grapes" which had the "flaver" of "the Purple grape". All these good things might have been enjoyed more had not the "Musquitors" been so "verry troublesom". They were in fact "so bad in the Prairies" that Clark could not keep them out of his eyes "with the assistance of a bush."[204]

Monona County was not settled until forty-eight years later (1852) when the first white settlement was formed about two miles north of Onawa. In the fifties the region southeast of this town became the scene of one of those multifarious attempts of that time to reform society through some coöperative or communistic form of organization.

[203] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 118, 119; *Iowa Geological Survey,* Vol. XX, pp. 278, 294.

[204] Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806,* Vol. I, pp. 99, 101, 106–108, 110.

The leader in question was a former follower of Joseph Smith, a certain Charles B. Thompson, who professed to be under the influence of a spirit called "Baneemy". Thompson brought in some fifty or sixty people, founded a town called Preparation, which became the first county seat. Then dissensions set in, the community broke up in 1855 after about a year's existence, and the State Supreme Court divided the property between the members, most of whom left the county.[205]

One of the landing places of the Lewis and Clark expedition was at Wright's Grove, a place later much frequented by picnic parties. Recently a tablet has been placed there by the Daughters of the American Revolution in honor of the explorers.[206]

Oak Grove State Park.— There are two other State parks along the western border of Iowa, both situated on the banks of the Big Sioux River — Oak Grove State Park near the confluence of Rock and Big Sioux rivers, six miles northeast of Hawarden, Sioux County; and Gitchie Manito State Park, about fourteen miles west of Larchwood, Lyon County. Both have outcrops of Sioux quartzite, the oldest rock exposure in Iowa. The outcrop in Gitchie Manito is much the larger and incloses the lakelet, Jasper Pool.[207]

The Oak Grove area was acquired in 1924. It contains about one hundred acres of prairie and woodlands.[208] In places there are springs. Some of the exposed clay and

[205] Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 409.

[206] *Bulletin of Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, p. 3.

[207] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, p. 116, 119, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 61.

[208] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, p. 3; *Census of Iowa,* 1925, p. lxxi; *Iowa Official Register,* 1925-1926, p. 661.

shale slopes resemble a little the Bad Lands of the Dakotas. On the sunny upland slopes numerous prairie plants spread their color and fragrance. Dr. Pammel notes the following: beard tongue, sessile yellow paintbrush, Pomme de Prairie of the voyageurs (used by the Indians for food), pasque flower, loco weed, cow vetch, yellow and orange puccoon, bird foot violet, and others. In the woodlands there are sumacs, basswoods, elms, soft maples, red haws, green ash, and bur oaks. Since its acquisition this park has been improved with a road.[209]

Sioux County had only a few settlers prior to 1860 and even in 1870 the population was still small. About that time there was a large influx of Hollanders, both from Pella in Marion County and directly from Holland. Immigration from Holland was stimulated by the State Board of Immigration, which appointed Henry Hospers as its special agent. Such names as Orange City, Maurice, and Hospers on the map of Sioux County are reminders of the presence of the Hollanders. During the decades of the last century when the Close Brothers played "landlords" in northwestern Iowa, English immigrants, too, made their impress upon the life of this and the surrounding counties.[210]

Gitchie Manito State Park.— As stated elsewhere in this article, the Gitchie Manito Park was turned over to be administered by the State Board of Conservation by the law of 1919. Its area of less than fifty acres has since been somewhat improved.[211] The prairie flora, the ancient

[209] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, pp. 3, 4, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 138.

[210] Andreas's *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa* (1875), p. 384. For an account of the Close Brothers activities in Iowa see Van der Zee's *The British in Iowa.* The same author also wrote *The Hollanders in Iowa.*

[211] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, p. 119, No. 5, p. 131.

rocks, and the mystic pool are its chief attractions. An enthusiastic visitor and nature lover, D. L. Berry, has recently left the following description of it: "Once inside [the park area], the monotony of the level prairies is instantly gone. Nature seems to have decided upon this particular forty acres as a display place for her museum of ancient history. . . . Do not picture this forty as a mountain. The ridge crossing it on which the red rocks come to the surface, probably does not rise more than 20 feet above the surrounding plain, but it is apparently solid red quartzite rock, covered in places by a thin coating of soil in which a few patches of trees have taken root. . . . As we entered the inclosure we found to our left low bluffs of rock, while a little farther within the park we passed Jasper Pool. The sun was sinking behind the Dakota hills and the shadows that fell across the gloomy pool from the surrounding cliffs, which rise sheer from the water's edge, cast an eerie darkness across the water, accented by the flapping away of some waterfowl, whose fish-seeking vigil we had disturbed." And "all around was the original prairie grass, the blue stem and the buffalo grass that carpeted the great plains when the Indians and the buffaloes held undisputed sway."[212]

In that distant time the Indian made his calumets or peace pipes out of this red rock. Many of these symbols of peace were probably carried far, for Gitchie Manito is close to the Big Sioux River, a part of the ancient Indian all-water route from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson Bay.[213]

Orleans State Park.— Of the seventy-four Iowa lakes listed in the *Bulletins* of the Board of Conservation many are located on the Wisconsin drift of northwestern Iowa,

[212] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 61, 62.

[213] *Iowa Parks*, 1919, p. 134.

and most of this number are in Dickinson and the surrounding counties — Emmet, Palo Alto, Clay, and Osceola.[214]

Dickinson County is primarily the lake county of the State since it contains not only the greatest number, but also the largest, the deepest, and perhaps the most attractive lakes from a scenic and a recreational standpoint. These include the Okoboji group — West Okoboji, East Okoboji, and Spirit Lake, originally known as Minne Waukon.[215]

These lakes were first mentioned by an interpreter of Lewis and Clark in 1804. Hunters and trappers very likely visited them during the following decades, but the first authentic account of the region is by the United States surveyor, J. N. Nicollet, appointed in 1838 by President Martin Van Buren to make a hydrographic map of the basin of the Upper Mississippi Valley. Nicollet probably made some of his observations on the site of the later Crandall's Lodge. His assistant and companion during the expedition was the Pathfinder of the Rockies, John C. Fremont.[216]

The first settlers on the shores of the lakes arrived in 1856. Among them were Rowland Gardner from Cerro Gordo County and his son-in-law. They built cabins by the Gardner Grove where the Gardner log house still may be seen. The Spirit Lake Massacre occurred in 1857 and this tended to keep out settlers so that the population of Dickinson County in 1865 was only a little more than two hundred.[217]

[214] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 98, 99. See also a geological map of Iowa.

[215] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 99, 100; Smith's *A History of Dickinson County, Iowa,* p. 42.

[216] Smith's *A History of Dickinson County, Iowa,* pp. 41, 42, 43; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 11.

[217] Smith's *A History of Dickinson County, Iowa,* pp. 44, 45, 301.

The anticipations of the first settlers that this lake region would soon become a tourist's paradise were, however, soon realized. Like Clear Lake, these lakes early attracted fishermen. In the seventies fleets of trim sail boats spread their white wings on the blue lake waters, and boat races became frequent occurrences. Lodges arose on the banks. Tourists' hotels were opened. In the eighties steamers were introduced. The Spirit Lake Association merged into the Spirit Lake Chautauqua Association which held its first meetings in 1893. The former happy hunting grounds of the Indians had become the happy playground of Iowa.[218]

But this playground was not owned by Iowa — except the water area within the meandered lines and a small tract of shore land at Orleans of which twenty acres had been transferred from the Fish and Game Department to the Board of Conservation in 1923. This area constitutes now the Orleans State Park.[219]

Lost Island State Park.— Only a few of the meandered lakes of northwestern Iowa have actually been made into lake parks by the State's acquisition and improvement of a part of their shore lands. Medium Lake, adjacent to Emmetsburg, has been improved by its citizens with the approval of the Executive Council. Small areas of land have also been acquired on the shores of Lake Okamanpedan partly in Dickinson County and partly in Minnesota, and on the shores of Lost Island Lake located in Palo Alto and Clay counties.[220]

Lost Island Lake with its winding beaches and pictur-

[218] Smith's *A History of Dickinson County, Iowa,* pp. 386, 397, 404, 405, 472, 516, 517, 521.

[219] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. I, No. 1, p. 16.

[220] *Census of Iowa,* 1925, p. lxxi; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 102–105.

esque hills is a beautiful and permanent body of water to be classed with Spirit Lake and the Okobojis. Its meandered area is 1260 acres and its depth is about twelve feet. At the beginning of the present century there was a private park laid out on the southern shore where cottages had been built.[221] In 1923 the Executive Council recommended the purchase of a small tract of the shore land. Twenty-seven acres of timbered land were acquired and later improved with all camp facilities including a fine shelter house. The nearest towns are Ruthven, two miles north, and Spencer, twelve miles east.[222]

Okamanpedan State Park.— Tuttle Lake — sometimes carelessly called Turtle Lake — has a meandered area of nearly three thousand acres, of which the larger part is in Minnesota. This lake was discovered in 1838 by Nicollet who gave it the Sioux name of Okamanpedan, meaning "the nesting place of the blue herons". At that time and as late as 1900 these birds had their nesting places in the tall trees around the shallow lake. Although the blue heron is a wading bird it builds its nest in tall trees. The general disappearance of the herons was probably due to a destruction of their rookeries. Two miles farther north in Minnesota a smaller variety of heron has extensive rookeries, and herons are now also occasionally seen at Lake Okamanpedan.

Originally there were heavy woods on the northern shore. Only a little of these remain. The wooded tract lured the early settlers, some of whom staked out farms there in 1856. One of these settlers was Calvin Tuttle for whom the lake was named, although the pioneers also used the name

[221] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 102–105; *Census of Iowa,* 1925, p. lxxi; *Iowa Geological Survey,* Vol. XV, p. 236.

[222] *Iowa Official Register,* 1923-1924, p. 614; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks,* Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 104, 105.

Okamanpedan. A considerable area of the lands near the lake were later included in the Ellsworth ranch.

Okamanpedan is the most southerly of a chain of twenty or more lakes extending into Minnesota. Its outlet is through the middle fork of the Des Moines River. The efforts in Iowa to maintain the water level of the lake as a part of the park project created dissatisfaction in Minnesota. The dam constructed near the outlet in Iowa with the approval of the farmers of Emmet County resulted in a reputed encroachment upon the rights of the farmers of Martin County in Minnesota. Negotiations between the States brought no satisfactory results, and the matter was referred to the United States Supreme Court.

In September, 1923, the Executive Council recommended an appropriation for a dam, roadway, shore line protection, and some slight changes in the river channel. At the same time E. L. and J. C. Williams donated to the State the property known as the Ellsworth cottage — a neat stone structure built of boulders — and ten acres of land with a shore line of more than half a mile. Later in the year L. P. Stillman of Dolliver was appointed honorary custodian. A recreational survey was made in 1924 by H. E. Pammel who reported a variegated lowland and upland flora of great interest to the botanist.

The Okamanpedan State Park was dedicated on July 4, 1926, in the presence of twenty-five hundred people, both Iowans and Minnesotans. The impressiveness of the event was accentuated by the unveiling of a tablet presented by the Okamanpedo Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, as a tribute to all who in this region had served humanity. Mrs. W. G. Gordon presented the marker to the State, and Dr. Pammel accepted it. L. P. Stillman gave a brief historical account of the region. Dr. Pammel then dedicated the park "to the perpetual use of

the people." In accepting the park for the State, Mrs. E. F. Armstrong referred to the day as an "outward sign of the spirit of brotherhood and friendliness existing between these two great commonwealths"; and further said: "In christening this park Okamanpedan, we are commemorating the lives and deeds of a vanishing race. In accepting this tablet which the Daughters of the American Revolution have erected we have done honor to those who have made possible many of the blessings which are ours. In presenting you this park this afternoon the Iowa Board of Conservation are considering the needs and the welfare of the men and women of today and the men and women of tomorrow."[223]

Fort Defiance State Park.— In 1860 a road was surveyed and laid out by the government from the forts in Minnesota, which passed south of Lake Okamanpedan to the present site of Estherville, and thence to Spirit Lake. The need of further military precautions became especially urgent during the Sioux outbreak in 1862 when the State of Iowa decided to build a chain of forts in northern Iowa as a protection for the newly formed settlements. The most pretentious of these military establishments was the one at the site of Estherville. Mainly because of the nearness to heavy timber and to saw mills, several buildings were constructed — barns, barracks, and an office and commissary connected by a stockade. Within the inclosure the defenders of the settlers dug a well and erected a flagstaff from which the Stars and Stripes waved defiance to the warlike Sioux. The stockade was named Fort Defiance.[224]

The fort was abandoned at the close of the Civil War and the buildings demolished, but the memories of frontier

[223] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 1–12.

[224] *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 481–512.

days clustered about the site. In 1920 the Estherville people proposed the establishment of a State park to include the site of the old fort. An area of fifty-three acres has since been acquired. It is one of great natural beauty, abounding in ravines, ferns, flowers, trees, and an unusually large number of birds, upwards of one hundred and fifty species having been reported.[225]

Ambrose A. Call State Park.— New State parks are continually being established and new areas considered. One of these, established in 1926, is the Ambrose A. Call or Algona tract south of Algona on the east fork of the Des Moines River in Kossuth County. This region of one hundred and thirty-four acres is a rugged area containing many varieties of trees and flowers. The park is easily accessible. One road runs through the park and highways skirt both the east and west side of it. Interested citizens in the community contributed one-half the money required to purchase this tract. Ambrose A. Call, a pioneer settler of Kossuth County for whom the park is named, was a great lover of nature. Closely associated with Ambrose A. Call was another pioneer, William H. Ingham, who has left an excellent account of early days in this region in his book, *Ten Years on the Iowa Frontier*.[226]

Bixby State Park.— Another new State park is the Bixby tract of sixty-nine acres located near the town of Edgewood in Clayton County. Dr. Pammel describes this park as "one of the really scientific wonders of the State of Iowa." It contains the famous ice cave, "wonderfully good springs, and many fine trees and shrubs." The "flora

[225] Rhodes's *The Coming Park at Estherville* in *Iowa Conservation*, Vol. IV, pp. 95, 96; *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 117.

[226] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 98, 100–104; Ingham's *Ten Years on the Iowa Frontier*.

is of the typical boreal type, and occurs only in a relatively few places in this state." Adjacent to the park is a fine prairie country. This park was established in 1926.[227]

Guthrie County Tract State Park.— The Guthrie County Tract, formerly known as the John King Park, is located on the Middle Coon River in Guthrie County, northwest from Guthrie Center, and not far from Bagley, Bayard, Yale, and Panora. Most of the money for this tract of one hundred and thirty acres was contributed by John King, Jr., and other heirs of the King estate — the remainder of the purchase price was appropriated from the funds of the State Board of Conservation. This park, another one of the group established in 1926, also contains many fine trees and shrubs, as well as a "wealth of other herbaceous plant material." Traces of an overland trail used by goldseekers in 1848 form one of the interesting historical features in this park. John King was a pioneer settler in this region.[228]

Wood Thrush Park Preserve.— This tract of twenty-six acres is located seven miles southeast of Fairfield in Jefferson County. The land was given to the State Board of Conservation at the May meeting in 1927. As this region is very attractive it should become a popular State park.[229]

The State park movement has made and is making rapid progress in Iowa. Recreational surveys of several parks have been completed in order to improve these areas so that they may be of even greater service to the people of Iowa. The Iowa Highway Commission has coöperated with the State Board of Conservation to make these parks more accessible to the public, and friends of conservation have

[227] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 98, 99, 104.

[228] *Bulletin Iowa State Parks*, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 98–100.

[229] Information furnished by W. C. Merckens, Secretary of the State Board of Conservation.

resisted commercialization of these areas. Leaders in the conservation movement have preached the necessity of outdoor good manners in these parks with good effect. The park movement in Iowa shows unmistakable signs of healthy growth.[230]

THOMAS P. CHRISTENSEN

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230 The following list of Iowa State Parks was furnished by W. C. Mercken, Secretary of the State Board of Conservation, and is printed with his permission. The present membership of the State Board of Conservation is as follows: Wm. E. G. Saunders, Chairman, Emmetsburg; Mrs. E. F. Armstrong, Fort Dodge; J. G. Wyth, Cedar Falls; Mrs. Henry Frankel, Des Moines; and Byron W. Newberry, Strawberry Point. S. E. Bemis is Assistant Secretary of the Board.

Name	*County*	*Acres*	*Under Supervision of*
Ambrose A. Call	Kossuth	134	Wm. E. G. Saunders
Backbone	Delaware	1,279.59	Byron W. Newberry
Bellevue	Jackson	66	Byron W. Newberry
Bixby	Clayton	69	Byron W. Newberry
Flint Hills	Des Moines	101	Mrs. Henry Frankel
Theo. F. Clark	Tama	24.38	J. G. Wyth
Clear Lake	Cerro Gordo	20	Wm. E. G. Saunders
Devil's Backbone	Madison	224.87	Mrs. Henry Frankel
Dolliver Memorial	Webster	544.38	Mrs. E. F. Armstrong
Eagle Lake	Hancock	27	Wm. E. G. Saunders
Elbert Tract	Polk	261.37	Mrs. Henry Frankel
Eldora Pine Creek	Hardin	236.42	J. G. Wyth
Farmington	Van Buren	102.4	Mrs. Henry Frankel
Ft. Atkinson	Winneshiek	5	Byron W. Newberry
Ft. Defiance	Emmet	53	Wm. E. G. Saunders
Gitchie Manito	Lyon	47.5	Wm. E. G. Saunders
Guthrie County Tract	Guthrie	130.85	Mrs. Henry Frankel
Hamburg Tract	Fremont	200	J. G. Wyth
Lacey-Keosauqua	Van Buren	1,222.1	Mrs. Henry Frankel
Ledges	Boone	584.28	Mrs. E. F. Armstrong
Lepley	Hardin	9	J. G. Wyth
Lewis and Clark	Monona	675	J. G. Wyth
Lost Island	Palo Alto	27.63	Wm. E. G. Saunders
Maquoketa Caves	Jackson	16.91	Byron W. Newberry
Oak Grove	Sioux	101.9	Wm. E. G. Saunders
Oakland Mills	Henry	110.79	Mrs. Henry Frankel
Okamanpedan	Emmet	10	Wm. E. G. Saunders

Name	*County*	*Acres*	*Under Supervision of*
Orleans	Dickinson	20	Wm. E. G. Saunders
Palisades-Kepler	Linn	151.5	Byron W. Newberry
Pilot Knob	Hancock-Winnebago	288	Mrs. E. F. Armstrong
Rice Lake	Winnebago-Worth	50.57	Mrs. E. F. Armstrong
Silver Lake	Delaware	15	Byron W. Newberry
Storm Lake	Buena Vista	18	Wm. E. G. Saunders
Twin Lakes	Calhoun	15	Mrs. E. F. Armstrong
Wall Lake	Wright	12.08	J. G. Wyth
Wapsipinicon	Jones	220	Byron W. Newberry
Wild Cat Den	Muscatine	220.78	Mrs. Henry Frankel
Wood Thrush Park Preserve	Jefferson	26	Mrs. Henry Frankel

IX

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PRODUCTION OF BEEF CATTLE IN IOWA

[This is the final installment of an article on the economic history of beef cattle production in Iowa, by John A. Hopkins, Jr. Previous installments of the article appeared in the January and July numbers of this magazine.—THE EDITOR]

Whatever the physical productivity of a region may be, its economic productivity can not be greater than the value of its product in consuming areas, less the costs of transportation to them.[192] Therefore the efficiency of the transportation system provides a limit to the productivity of areas distant from markets, and it has a part in shaping the productive methods. It matters a great deal to the producer of cattle whether he must have his cattle driven several hundred miles to market, or whether he can ship them quickly and cheaply from a station near his farm.

Before the building of railroads, as much of the farm produce as possible was fed to cattle or hogs, and these were driven to market. It was necessary to ship other articles over water-ways or to haul them in wagons. The expense of haulage overland was so high and the time re-

[192] This is true if differences in handling costs are ignored. The more accurate statement would be that the price received by the producer, over a period of some length, would equal the price in each consuming area less the costs of transportation and handling. It should be remembered that deficiencies may arise in what are normally surplus areas, due to short crops, etc., and that there are also sections in the midst of producing areas, in which there may be a heavier consumption than production; and where, because of their small size and incomplete market mechanism products may at times sell higher than in consuming centers at a much greater distance. Cattle feeding sections are an example of this in that a scarcity of corn often occurs because of its use in large quantities for feeding.

quired so long that very few commodities could be shipped by this method.[193]

The principal method of getting crops to market from the Ohio Valley was by feeding them to live stock, and driving the stock to the eastern cities. Something of this business has already been told in Chapter I. Before the building of the trunk line railroads, there was a period when cattle were driven from the Middle West or even from points in Texas to the New York market.[194] A herd mentioned in an Indiana, Pennsylvania, paper in 1855 had been driven on their way to market from a point in Texas, and had been four months on the road.

The first roads in Iowa sometimes followed Indian trails. These trails were unsuited to the travel of the settlers and their wagons but were often used at first as guides, since they generally followed the easiest routes. Public roads either came into existence behind the incoming settlers, or were laid out consciously by the authority of the legislature. The legislature was, in fact, so liberal in the author-

[193] "I counted thirty regular stage-waggons engaged in the transportation of goods to and from Pittsburgh. They are drawn by four strong, well-fed horses, are made upon the model of English waggons, but about one-third less in size. They are from 20 to 35 days in effecting their journey. The articles sent from Philadelphia are hardware, and what are denominated 'dry goods'. This term includes all articles of woolen, linen, cotton and silk. Those returned from Pittsburgh are farming produce, chiefly flour. It is necessary to understand that the road I am travelling is the only trading waggon route to the whole western country".—Fearon's *Sketches of America* (1818), p. 186.

[194] "I trailed cattle from Central Illinois to the New York market before they could ship them by rail. It took about ninety days to make the trip. I also trailed the first bunch of Texas cattle to the Missouri river, and from there came north to the country where I now live. I got here on the 26th day of July 1853. I grazed the cattle the balance of the summer and fed part of them, then started the next spring after grass was good to drive them as far as we could toward New York. We got as far as Muncie, Indiana, some time the latter part of June, and there we secured cars and shipped them to New York. The first Texas cattle sold in New York was on July 3, 1854".—Letter from Tom C. Pointing, Shelby County, Illinois, in *Wallaces' Farmer*, October 21, 1910.

izing of roads, which were to be built and maintained at the expense of the counties, that this practice came to be recognized as a serious abuse.

The more important roads, such as the Mormon Trail previously referred to, the trail along the Des Moines River, and others were developed naturally by streams of traffic following the shortest and most practicable routes toward their destinations. Cattle and hogs were driven to the nearest market or to shipping points along these roads, or in the more thinly settled sections directly across the prairies.

Prior to the building of railroads the rivers offered the principal means of transportation as far as they went.[195] From Pittsburgh to St. Louis there were steamboats which were frequently used by immigrants in order to get as far west as the Mississippi River. From there they embarked on a smaller boat up stream or struck out overland. Attempts were also made to navigate many of the principal streams of Iowa, and there was a general clamor among the people of the State for making the rivers navigable to connect with the outside world. There are records of steamboats ascending the Cedar River as far as Cedar Rapids, and the Iowa River as far as Iowa City, as well as attempts at navigating the Des Moines River and other streams.[196] However, this navigation was not strikingly successful, and the railroads soon diverted attention away from it.

In the fifties railroads were built across Ohio, and to the Mississippi River. With them there came a new or-

[195] "A continuous line of steamboats now runs from Dubuque, via New Orleans and New York, to Liverpool and Bristol, in England; besides another from DuBuque to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where it connects with the great chain of Rail Roads and Canals across that State to the seaboard".—Plumbe's *Sketches of Iowa and Wisconsin* (1839), p. 77.

[196] Van der Zee,s *Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. III, p. 197.

ganization of the beef cattle industry. It then became possible to ship corn from the Ohio Valley to the eastern markets, and although the quantities shipped were relatively small, the effect of this new outlet for corn was seen in an increase in its value in Ohio. This reduced the profit to be gained from feeding corn to cattle.

At the same time there grew up a feeding business in Illinois. Previously most of the cattle of Illinois were sold to feeders in Ohio or even farther east. There was smaller opportunity for profit in fattening them in Illinois than in Ohio. They could not be fed until they reached a high finish and then be driven all the way to Philadelphia or New York as the fat would largely be lost along the road to these market centers.

Within a few years after the railroads were built to the Mississippi, they began to be used for hauling cattle, and although the facilities were very poor and the shrinkage on the trip heavy, the cost of transportation was much less than that incurred earlier by driving for long distances. It became possible to finish cattle in Illinois and ship them through to New York without feeding them again in Ohio or Pennsylvania to get the best finish. Prior to this, the only outlet which Illinois had for finished cattle was the trade down the river with the southern plantations. It was insufficient for the consumption even of the number of cattle then coming out of the Middle West.

EARLY CATTLE TRANSPORTATION IN IOWA

The railroads followed close on the heels of the settlers, and within a few years after the heavier influx of settlers reached a section there was usually a railroad within a few days drive. The first market for many of the first Iowa cattle, however, was to the west instead of the east.[197] In

[197] See a further discussion of this in Chapter X.

this direction, there was only one way by which the cattle could be moved — by driving. For this no definite system of transportation seems to have developed. Each new settler obtained his cattle as best he could in the region from which he came or along the way to his new home and then drove them along with him.

A little later, in the seventies, when the ranges were rapidly being stocked up, cattle dealers from the corn belt region sometimes collected droves of cattle to ship or drive westward for sale to the ranchers instead of selling them to the eastern markets. This business was of too brief duration for well defined channels of transportation to develop. Each dealer seems to have planned his own route and methods in view of the information he was able to glean from those who had preceded him.

The necessity of driving cattle for long distances from Iowa eastward lasted from five to fifteen years in different sections. Along such main travelled roads as the Mormon Trail, there were dealers who bought up cattle and hogs and drove them to market or to shipping points in the eastern part of the State until the railroads supplanted them. There was also a system developed for the accommodation of these drovers and their herds. This was composed largely of settlers along the trail who maintained yards for the stock and rude accommodations of one sort or another for the drovers' stay overnight.

The dealers usually started near the Missouri River, buying up a few head of cattle or of hogs here and there as they moved eastward. By the time they reached a shipping point they might have from three to six or seven hundred head of cattle, and from six to fifteen drovers to help them. At night the men would stop at the home of a settler where it was known they could be accommodated. The cattle or hogs were driven into the yard, and the dealer usually

bought some corn for them. The drovers were fed by the settler's wife and slept in the barn or outside during the summer, and in the house, wherever they could find room in the winter. Cattle were usually driven twelve or fourteen miles a day. If the drove was made up of hogs, a slower pace of about half that rate was necessary. It was said in the eastern part of the country, where the same business of driving stock was carried on a couple of decades earlier, that hog drovers sometimes slept in the same tavern for three successive nights, stopping their drove before they got to it the first night, stopping the herd at the tavern the second, and walking or riding back, if the lodging was very good, the third night.

The prices paid by these dealers must have been considerably below the market rates. A man whose father settled near Creston before this business declined relates that his father shipped a load of cattle to Chicago as soon as there was a railroad available. He was greatly surprised at getting so much for his cattle, having always sold to dealers before. Thereafter he kept in closer contact with the market and was never again induced to sell by the drover's bids.[198]

Railroad building in Iowa began in the middle fifties. By the end of 1859 roads had been opened to Cedar Rapids, Iowa City, Washington, and Ottumwa, besides nearly a hundred miles of track along the river. The Civil War interrupted railroad construction between 1861 and 1865. By the latter date the roads had been extended to Nevada, and Grinnell, and new roads had been built from Farley to Paralta, and from Dubuque to Cedar Falls. Up to 1860, however, but little use had been made of the railroads for hauling cattle.

In 1867 the Chicago and Northwestern reached the Mis-

[198] Interviews with George A. Ide and Joseph M. Wray of Creston.

souri River at Council Bluffs, followed two years later by the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific and by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. During this period of five years, from 1865 to the end of 1869, there were over a thousand miles of railroad built in Iowa. During the next half decade, to the end of 1874, nearly two thousand miles were built. In 1870, the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad, now part of the Illinois Central system, was opened to Sioux City. In the eastern part of Iowa, branch lines were built in all directions so that by 1875 that part of the State was already covered by a network of the new transportation system. The greater part of this mileage was built between 1870 and 1872. It was a part of the great boom in railroad construction which, because of its rapid over-expansion, resulted in the crisis of 1873.

At this time there was a popular clamor among the settlers for the building of railroads.[199] There were visions among financiers of great wealth to be made easily and quickly in the railroad business.

Responding to the popular demand for railroads, Congress and the State legislatures for several years did all in their power to encourage the construction of new lines. They were more than liberal in their grants of land, which in the State of Iowa alone reached a total of almost five million acres.[200]

Legislative bodies are not called to an accounting for acts committed in the past. The personnel changes rapidly, and the public quickly forgets the identity of the persons who composed any particular session. But if the members of Congress or of State legislatures which appropriated large

[199] McCoy's *Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, p. 408.

[200] *Report of the Secretary of State of the Transactions of the Land Department* (Iowa), 1889, p. 105.

quantities of land for the encouragement of railroads had later been called on to justify their acts, they would, in all probability, have been able to make out a strong defense. There were what seemed to them and to their constituents, enormous quantities of public lands as yet untaken. Very little value was then attached to them. And there seemed to them to be grounds for supposing that it would be a long time before a shortage of land could cause a hardship to anyone.

Under the stimulus given by Congress and the encouragement of a large part of the public, railroads were built into territory that was still unsettled, and many lines were constructed which later proved to be unjustified on economic grounds. The public was not willing to see these discontinued, yet many of them were doomed to be perpetually on the verge of bankruptcy, and altogether unable to compete with properly located roads.

The public of 1870 witnessed a bitter competition among the railroads for what traffic was available to be divided among them. Rebates were given freely, since there was no machinery to stop this practice. Rates between competing points were sometimes absurdly low, while an effort was made to make up for the loss incurred by this competition by charging heavy rates from non-competing points. The cattle shipper, or other patron of the railroads, found that the service was incomparably superior to doing without railroads, but it was still extremely poor as compared to what would have been possible had there not been so many unnecessary railroads to support and such bitter competition.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF LIVE STOCK SHIPPING FACILITIES

The development of facilities for hauling live stock began in the early fifties. In the early experiments ordinary box

cars were used for a while. The first slatted car was the kind without a roof then used for hauling wood for the engine. Cattle were also hauled on flat cars around which sides were built by using saplings for uprights and nailing poles or slats to them horizontally. Feed for the cattle was piled on boards placed across the top.

An excellent description of the early facilities is given by James E. Downing in the *Breeder's Gazette*.[201]

> Trains were coupled with long links and pins and the great amount of slack in a freight train caused a tremendous impact at every movement during the journey.
>
> On western roads, also, old, wood burning engines, equipped with link and pin couplings and hand brakes, slowly dragged the trains, usually starting them with a jerk and stopping by reversed gear, causing everything not nailed down to go into a heap at the far end of the car. The average schedule time for trains, including stops, on the five leading railroads in the West in 1873 was 10 miles per hour. . . . The roadbeds were rough and poorly ballasted, with excessive grades, wooden bridges and trestle work, and everything was in a poor state of repair. . . . The high arbitrary carload rates then charged for the transportation of stock induced overloading as a measure of economy. The result was that the weaker were knocked down by the bumping and rolling of the train, and trampled upon by the others until helpless or dead; or, if they were able to rise were frequently so injured that they afterwards died. All this added to the death toll and loss to the shipper. . . .

[201] "One of the first shipments of cattle by rail was from Kentucky to an eastern market in 1852. It was described by the shipper as follows: 'One week was consumed in driving the cattle, 100 in number, from the neighborhood of Lexington, Ky., to Cincinnati. Here they were loaded in merchandise boxcars without any conveniences for feed, water or ventilation, and shipped to Cleveland. From there they were taken by steamboat to Buffalo, and after a stay of several days were driven overland to Canandaigna, N. Y. From this point they were hauled in emigrant cars to Albany, where they were unloaded and housed in the freighthouse; after two days in a feedyard they were taken by boat to New York City. The freight on the cattle from Cincinnati to New York City was $14. per head".—From *Pioneer Transportation for Live Stock*, by James E. Downing, in the *Breeder's Gazette*, August 25, 1921.

Overloading was intensified by the high prices paid for animals killed enroute which sometimes brought almost as much as live ones. In 1869 Berkshire hogs taken dead from cars sold regularly at $4.50 to $5.00 per cwt. . . .

The old cars in which fuel for the engine was hauled were used as models, and improvements made from time to time until the high standard of the present day stock car was reached. The old cars had an unoccupied space of two feet at the end of the platform or floor in which stockmen used to ride and frequently sleep. The cars having been built without roofs or hay racks, the fodder or hay was thrown among the animals, and branches of trees were placed over the cross bars to afford shade or shelter from storms. The permanent roof originated not so much as a shelter as to prevent the escape of small animals. There was great difficulty in hauling mixed shipments. At first hogs were loaded on the floor of the car, and sheep on a temporary deck above. The frequency with which shippers experienced losses from sheep jumping over the top of the cars caused the method of loading to be changed and the reverse was tried; that is, the hogs were loaded on the temporary deck above. But this was found impracticable, because the sheep became foul from the droppings of the hogs. The difficulty was finally overcome by loading the sheep on the upper deck and constructing a permanent roof to prevent their jumping overboard. This was the origin of the present double deck stock car.

REGULATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRANSPORTATION INDUSTRY

The poor facilities referred to above caused an excessive shrinkage on cattle in transit.[202] This had the same effect

[202] "A Boston gentleman states that he found the shrinkage of cattle on long routes to vary from fifty to two hundred pounds, and that the Assistant Superintendent of the Great Western Railroad, at Hamilton, told him that he had known 'the shrinkage to be as high as one hundred and eighty pounds to the animal, between Chicago and Suspension Bridge'.

"The Massachusetts Railroad Commissioners, on page thirty-one of their report of January 1871, say 'that the shrinkage between Chicago and Boston is estimated to be from ten to fifteen per cent' and they add 'cattle trains yield the road to most others, and pass hours on sidings; the animals are without any food or water, and often with insufficient ventilation in summer, or shelter in winter; they are jolted off their legs, and then goaded until they

as a very materially increased freight charge in placing the western producer of beef at a disadvantage as compared to the producer nearer to the markets. The high carload rates, which paid no regard to the weight of the load, gave an incentive to overloading the cars. The bumping and jerking of the cars were also large factors. It is probable that the improved coupler, and the air brake patented by Westinghouse in 1872 were responsible for as much of the improved condition in which cattle reached the market in later years as were the twenty-eight hour law and the activities of humanitarians.

In the early seventies an agitation arose against the manner in which cattle were being handled on the trip east from Chicago and other points. They were being crowded into the cars and kept for long periods without water or feed. The trains were slow and this aggravated their suffering. The shrinkage between Chicago and Boston was said to be between ten and fifteen per cent.

An act was passed by Congress and signed by the President on March 3, 1873, to prohibit any carrier from transporting animals in interstate commerce for a greater period than twenty-eight consecutive hours without unloading for the purpose of giving rest, water, and feed for at least five consecutive hours before continuing the transportation. But if the animals were in cars in which they could receive feed, water, and rest, the transportation could be continued for a longer period.

This law was very defective. It brought about some im-

struggle up, for they cannot be permitted to lie down; they thus arrive at their destination trampled upon, torn by each other's horns, bruised, bleeding; having in fact suffered all that animals can suffer and live. Under the most favorable circumstances they leave the train panting, fevered and unfit to kill; under the least favorable, a regular percentage of dead animals is hauled out of the cars Animals are fed only twice between Chicago and Boston, and only three times between Kansas and Boston''.—Angell's *Cattle Transportation in the United States* (1872).

mediate improvement, but was not long enforced and soon became a dead letter until about 1905. Then it was again brought forth, this time by the Secretary of Agriculture, and prosecution was started against a large number of violators. By this time the railroads had discontinued the use of most of the stockyards which had been built to comply with the law. Its enforcement brought considerable inconvenience both to the shippers and the carriers. It was urged that, where the time in transit was not much over twenty-eight hours, less suffering was caused the cattle by being kept in the cars for a few hours to their destination than by unloading and loading again.

In 1906, Congress adopted a modified law. It repeated the essential features of the older law, but provided that, on written request of the shipper or of his agent, the stock might be continued in transit longer than twenty-eight hours, but not over thirty-six.

The need for an agency to regulate the trade of the railway system, and to guide the course which competition was to take, was seriously felt following the railroad boom of the early seventies. The mad scramble for traffic threatened at times to embarrass all of the carriers without helping any of them. In 1873, the railroads themselves took a step towards stablizing the traffic and stopping the excessive competition for the hauling of cattle.

The trunk line systems running between Chicago and the East, with the exception of the Baltimore and Ohio, entered into an agreement to divide the traffic on a basis of a given percentage to each. A few of the larger shippers were induced to adjust their shipments over one road to another in order to maintain the percentages of traffic agreed upon. These shippers were called "eveners", and received a rebate of $15 per car out of the usual charge of $115 per car, which it was agreed should be the standard rate between

Chicago and New York. This pool lasted until 1878, and was one of the few things over which these lines did not fight during this time.[203] After the eveners' pool broke up, the old war for traffic was again resumed.

[203] "As soon as the Union Stock-Yards began to ship large numbers of live stock to New York and other eastern points, the railways began to scramble for the freights. The five trunk lines, New York Central, Erie, Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Ohio, and Grand Trunk competed for the business with cut-throat and disastrous rate wars, and worked out a more peaceful *modus vivendi* only after the panic of 1873. They then agreed to divide the traffic on a given percentage, and induced a few of the greater shippers to adjust their shipments, over one road or another, so as to even up the totals with the agreed ratio. These firms were known locally and enviously as "eveners", and found the reward for their co-operation in a rebate from the published rate per car that allowed them to fatten at the expense of their unfavored smaller rivals. 'This railroad competition has helped to concentrate the live stock and dressed-beef business into the hands of a few men', testified the best-informed spectator, Albert Fink, in 1883.

"For several years the 'evener' group of firms enjoyed the advantages gained by their agreement, but by 1877 the scheme had broken down because conspirators to stifle trade lacked the firmness, when bought, to stay bought, and the trunk lines tried a new experiment for the division of freight receipts according to a fixed pool. Albert Fink, who had harmonized the rivalries of various southern roads, was put in charge of this new regulative association, and until the interstate commerce law was passed in 1887 he was almost the sole force in America working to maintain uniformity and equality of rates against the bargaining tendencies of shippers and the competitive lust of carriers.

"As the trade developed and cattle shipments east of Chicago assumed the form of fresh beef, with thirty animals to the refrigerator car instead of eighteen to the stock car, competition was again aroused. The surviving shippers of live stock demanded that the rate on beef be raised far above the rate on cattle on the hoof, so as to maintain equality between the two forms of meat on the New York market. They found allies in the railroads, who wanted to keep their stock-cars in use and to get the higher cattle-car rates; in the stock yard owners along the lines who could see that their plants would become obsolete and unproductive if no more live cattle came to use them; and in the butchers of the eastern cities who resented the changes that were converting them from butchers and manufacturers into mere agents and dealers in meat. . . . The eastern butchers, fearful of extinction, raised the cry in the middle eighties that Chicago and Kansas City meats were unwholesome and were preserved with poison. . . . In 1884 there was a New York Wholesale Butchers' Protective Union, and in 1886 a Butchers' National Protective Association of the United States, both formed to boycott Chicago beef.

The next step was in the development of the refrigerator car and the business of shipping fresh meat instead of live cattle. This promised a very worth while saving. By shipping only the meat instead of the whole animal nearly half of the freight could be saved, if the same rates were charged on beef as on live cattle, and there was also a saving in shrinkage.

In this business the pioneers had to fight for the larger part of a decade, first to get transportation facilities, and then to overcome a prejudice in the minds of the public against Chicago killed meat. The trunk line railroads, except the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Grand Trunk, had invested a large amount of capital in stock cars and in stockyards for their live stock traffic. These railroads and other owners of stockyards along the lines opposed the fresh meat trade because it would put their yards and other property out of business.[204] The Baltimore and Ohio, and the

"The stock shippers got the relief they wanted in the form of an increase in beef rates from once-and-a-half the cattle rate, which the packers admitted to be fair, to once-and-three-quarters. . . . The rate wars that prepared the way for public regulation of railways and the division of great corporations among themselves so that some stood on the public's side for fair and non-discriminating rates, were founded in the beef and cattle trade".—Paxson's *The Cow Country* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XXII, pp. 65—82.

[204] "There is 'war to the knife and knife to the hilt' between the shippers of live cattle and shippers of dressed beef from Chicago and eastern cities. The trunk railroads are also in the fight. The Vanderbilt lines and the Pennsylvania Central being largely interested in the great stock-yards constructed for the live cattle traffic, are with the shippers of live cattle; while the Baltimore & Ohio and the Grand Trunk, confining themselves purely to the legitimate carrying trade, and not having any money in the stock yards, are quite willing to afford transportation facilities to the shippers of dressed beef as to shippers of live cattle. The live-cattle shippers want the rates on dressed beef put up so they can compete successfully in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, etc., with beef dressed in Chicago or Kansas City and transported eastward in refrigerator cars; while the other party wants only what they say is a fair, equitable rate in proportion to the weight carried. The quarrel just now, bids fair to cause a break in the freight pool which exists between these trunk lines".—*Breeder's Gazette*, April 19, 1883.

Grand Trunk, especially the latter which hauled but few cattle, had no particular reasons to oppose the refrigerator cars, but did not care to spend the necessary money in building them, since they were still in the experimental stage. The packers were therefore forced to provide their own cars. Despite the opposition of the railroads, and of the eastern butchers, the fresh beef trade grew rapidly, and between 1885 and 1890 came to overshadow the shipping of live cattle from Chicago.

FREIGHT RATES BETWEEN IOWA AND THE EAST

If the freight rates are very high, the farmer will be forced to produce commodities which are concentrated in form and therefore relatively cheap to ship. If the rates are low he can produce articles of greater bulk, and ship his produce in a less finished form. There is, therefore, a close connection between the freight charges and an Iowa farmer's decision to sell his corn as grain or to feed it and sell hogs or beef instead as is explained fully later.

Before the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission, data on the rates charged by railroad companies are hard to get.[205] In the first place there were frequent deviations from the older records of tariffs. Special rates were frequently given in order to get traffic or to prevent other roads from getting it.[206]

[205] *The Prairie Farmer*, September 6, 1860, declares: "The New York Tribune of August 30, says the following roads have entered into arrangements for transportation of all live stock at the rates mentioned below: Pennsylvania Central, New York and Erie, New York Central, Grand Trunk (Canada), Baltimore and Ohio."

The new arrangement took place September 1, 1860, and the following were the rates per hundredweight, from the several points to New York:

Chicago and Indiana State line, 90 cents; Burlington, Iowa, 1.10 cents; St. Louis, 1.20 cents. The minimum carload for cattle was 18,000 pounds.

[206] In the *Proceedings of the Conference Relative to the Marketing of Live Stock, Distribution of Meats and Related Matters*, held at Chicago, November 15, 16, 1915, J. M. Doud, a live stock commission merchant, said:

The accompanying tables give some idea of rates which existed between points in central Iowa and Chicago, and be-

"Previous to the passing of the interstate commerce act, competion among the railroads for the live-stock haul was rampant. Agents were at all western points who had the power to give what rebates were necessary to get the business. The rate at that time was 25 cents per hundred pounds from the Missouri River points to Chicago, but 40 per cent of this was given back to the shipper in nearly every case, and frequently 50 per cent was refunded on large shipments. This practice was carried on for years after the passage of the law, but not openly. . . .

"Not only were rates cut but competition was equally as sharp on running time. Stock was bought at Missouri River markets one day and sold in Chicago the following day, and a guaranteed schedule of 21 hours between the markets was entered into, with a penalty or a claim paid when the 21 hours were exceeded.

"Some 15 years ago the railroads entered into an agreement by virtue of which no company could exceed a certain time limit, and it now takes, under the best possible schedules, from 30 to 40 hours from the Missouri River to Chicago, and the same time from western Iowa and South Dakota—a lengthening out of the running time from 8 to 12 hours, while central Iowa is from 4 to 8 hours longer.

"The lengthening out of running time is equivalent to an advance in rates of fully 25 per cent, as it makes but little difference whether the owner of the stock pays in cash or in extra shrinkage".—*House Documents*, 1st Session, 64*th Congress*, Vol. 144, Document No. 855, pp. 128, 129.

J. L. Harris, General Live Stock Agent, Chicago and Alton Railroad said:

"With reference to rebates, I think I have paid perhaps as much money to shippers as any man to-day on the railroad pay roll; and as to Mr. Doud's statement that 30, 40, and 50 per cent of the revenue has been paid back to the shipper, I am going to deal in facts and figures. The highest rebate I have ever known paid, and I think the highest that has ever been paid from Texas, was $21 a car to Chicago, and the rate ran about $100 to $110 per car. In those days the rates were made in dollars per car—so many dollars for a trip from stations in Texas to Chicago, Kansas City, or St. Louis. The highest money that I ever paid from St. Louis to Chicago was $7.50 a car, and I had to pay as much as the other fellow or I could not get the traffic.

"The service from the Missouri River Kansas City and Omaha, St. Joe to Chicago, has averaged about 26 to 28 hours. The best service that we have made, except some few special runs—I think that the shortest time that has ever been made is about 16 hours and 20 minutes. I made that with 13 cars on the Wabash Road several years ago, riding the train myself. I think the Rock Island and other lines made it in 16 or 18 hours on one or two occasions; but the average, as I state, is anywhere from 24 to 28 and 32 hours. That travel brings you to the Chicago market without a feed, providing there is no accident."—*House Documents*, 1st Session, 64th Congress, Vol. 144, Document No. 855, pp. 132, 133.

tween Chicago and New York. Rates from Boone, Iowa, to Chicago were obtained through the kindness of A. F. Cleveland, Assistant Freight Traffic Manager of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company. Rates from Chicago to New York were obtained from the *Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission* for 1902, Appendix G, Part 2. Rates from Chicago to New York after 1902 were

TABLE V

FREIGHT RATES ON CATTLE FROM BOONE, IOWA, TO CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 1872–1923

DATE EFFECTIVE	RATE PER CAR
1872, October 1	$66.00
1873, August 18	62.00
1874, July 1	53.10
1874, July 4	28.23
1887, August 25	57.00
	RATE PER CWT.
1888, October 25	.26
1889, August 14	.23
1910, May 15	.22
1920, August 25	.275
1921, December 31	.37
1922, June 30	.335

furnished through the kindness of B. H. Meyer of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It will be noticed that the rates on cattle from Iowa up to 1887, and from Chicago up to 1879 were on a flat car rate basis.

In 1873, the shipper of cattle from Iowa, could not expect to receive more than the New York price for his cattle minus a freight charge of $62 per car to Chicago, and $115 from Chicago to New York, besides the other necessary charges for handling and feeding. Considering that a normal load was probably between 20,000 and 25,000 pounds,

this made about 75 cents per hundred pounds. In 1874, the freight between Iowa and Chicago was as low as $28.23 per car. This would reduce the cost by about eighteen cents per hundredweight.

TABLE VI

FREIGHT RATES ON CATTLE FROM CHICAGO TO NEW YORK CITY, 1872–1923

DATE EFFECTIVE	RATE PER CWT.	DATE EFFECTIVE	RATE PER CWT.
1872, Mar. 26	(Per Car) $115.00	1888, July 5	.11
		July 6	.095
1879, June 9	.35	July 7	.085
Aug. 4	.50	July 9	.075
Nov. 10	.55	July 10	.065
1881, Mar. 14	.50	July 11	.055
May 9	.25	Aug. 20	.145
1882, Apr. 17	.40	Aug. 25	.10
1884, May 5	.30	Sept. 24	.15
Sept. 1	.20	Dec. 17	.22
Dec. 8	.40	1889, May 1	.26
1885, May 3	.30	1890, June 16	.225
July 1	.25	June 26	.21
1886, Mar. 1	.35	June 30	.195
1887, Nov. 21	.315	July 3	.18
Nov. 23	.285	Nov. 24	.26
Nov. 24	.255	1891, Apr. 20	.28
Nov. 25	.23	1899, Feb. 1	.25
Nov. 26	.205	1900, Jan. 1	.28
Nov. 28	.185	1915, Jan. 1	.294
Nov. 29	.165	1916, Jan. 13	.33
Dec. 26	.35	1918, Mar. 25	.38
1888, May 14	.25	June 25	.475
June 18	.165	1919, Dec. 31	.45
July 2	.145	1920, Aug. 26	.63
July 3	.125	1922, Jan. 1	.565

In 1888 a violent rate war broke out among the trunk lines from Chicago to New York. Rates on live cattle were cut from thirty-five cents to twenty-five cents, then to sixteen

and one-half cents. In July there began to be reductions in the rates almost every day. On July 11th, they reached five and one-half cents per hundredweight where they continued until August 20th. Thereafter rates were raised slowly until they reached twenty-eight cents in 1891, and the rate wars were over.

In the territory west of the Mississippi, the rate wars never became so violent as during this period in the East. But much the same practices were resorted to. Rebates were given, and there was a sharp competition in running time.

From 1889 the rates on cattle from central Iowa to Chicago remained quite stable until 1910. The change in rates published during this time was seldom over a cent per hundredweight at the principal shipping points. In 1918, as referred to in a previous chapter, there was granted an increase in rate of twenty-five per cent, and in 1921 a further increase of thirty-five per cent. In 1922 there was a reduction of ten per cent on farm products.

Before 1896, with the price of cattle slowly falling and the freight rate fluctuating widely, it is difficult to say for certain just what per cent of the value of the cattle the cost of transportation took. After 1896, with cattle prices rising and the freight rate following much less rapidly, the cost of transportation required a smaller part of the price. In 1896 the average price of 1200 to 1500 pound steers in Chicago was $4.20 per hundredweight, and the freight over the Chicago and Northwestern from Boone to Chicago was twenty-three cents per hundredweight. In 1913 the average price of the same class of stock was $8.35, and the freight was twenty-two cents. In 1921 the price of the steers was $9.50, and the freight before the ten per cent reduction was thirty-seven cents, and afterwards was thirty-three and one-half cents.

Between 1896 and 1918 freight rates lagged considerably behind the rise in cattle and in corn prices, as was the case during the years of the World War. This occurred both when prices were rising and when they were falling. The mechanism by which rates are now made works but slowly. Perhaps if there were no such control over the rates, they would respond more rapidly to changed economic conditions, but the advantage of stable rates to the producers, and an authority with power to enforce fair dealing and impartiality on the part of the carriers has certainly been worth more to the shipper than he has lost from this cause. The same can be said for the carriers themselves.

Late in 1917 and early in 1918 the railroad system of the country became severely congested and service was greatly curtailed. Farmers who had cattle ready to ship to market often waited days or weeks before they could get cars.[207] In the meantime the cattle were still eating heavily of high priced feed and, having already been put in fat condition,

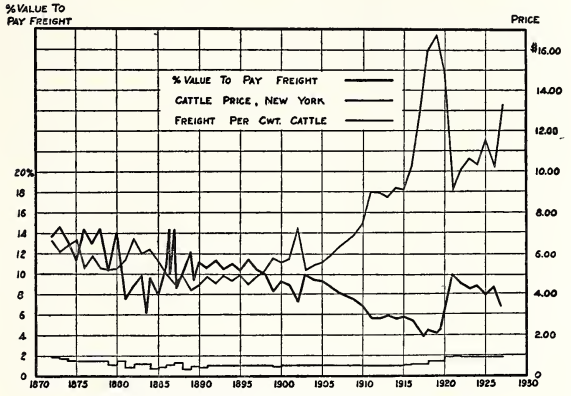
[207] "I would like to have someone tell me what to do under my present circumstances. I have had cars for live stock ordered since January 1st, to ship my cattle and hogs, but there has not been a single stock car furnished here since January, until today, when there was one car set at the chute. This car, however, properly belonged to another farmer who had filed his application ahead of me. The M. & St. L. claims that they got but nine cars this week to supply their customers at points between Fort Dodge and Estherville and from Spencer to Storm Lake. So at this rate we can not expect ours for another month or six weeks.

"My cattle have been on a full feed of corn, hay and cottonseed meal for almost five months. They weighed over 1,000 pounds when I started them, and are now in extra fat condition. . . . I have been feeding corn which I sorted out to keep for next summer's feeding purposes, and have only enough to last me about one more week. On top of this, I have bought nearly 1,000 bushels more corn than I expected to feed to these cattle and hogs, and there is no more corn for sale in this locality. I have put all my corn crop into them, and, in addition, most of the corn grown by my neighbors".—From a letter by an Emmet County farmer, dated March 3, 1918, in *Wallaces' Farmer*, March 29, 1918.

(This was an extreme case. The small railroads, as the Minneapolis and St. Louis, had a particularly hard time to get cars).

were making but little gain. The protests of the feeders give ample evidence of the cost of poor transportation.

On June 25, 1918, a twenty-five per cent increase in freight rates was put in effect, amounting to between five



RELATION OF FREIGHT RATES TO THE VALUE OF CATTLE

and six cents per hundredweight on cattle from central Iowa points to Chicago. On August 26, 1921, an additional increase in rates of thirty-five per cent was granted, amounting to about ten cents per hundredweight. Because of the slowness of the rate making mechanism this occurred after the price of cattle had fallen sharply for a year. On January 1, 1922, there was a ten per cent reduction in rates on agricultural products, equal to about four cents per hundredweight.

The "feeding in transit" rates for the Iowa feeder have already been mentioned. These permit the saving of a considerable part of the freight usually paid from the producing regions to Chicago. To take advantage of these rates, however, it is necessary to buy the feeders west of the

Missouri River markets. The cattle feeder does not always desire to do this. He may want the wider choice of animals which are to be found in the markets, or he may not be acquainted with ranchers who have the desired type of feeders for sale. The "feeding in transit" rates have not, therefore, been much used in proportion to the total number of western cattle shipped into Iowa. During the last few years there has developed a practice of hauling a large number of cattle to the Missouri River stockyards by trucks, instead of shipping them by train. This is seldom done from a distance of greater than forty or fifty miles. The charge for trucking is usually somewhat higher than the rate by rail. The truck is, however, more convenient to the farmer, since it hauls the cattle directly from his farm and saves the trouble of driving them to the railroad station.

THE RAILROADS, THE CATTLE INDUSTRY, AND FARM ORGANIZATION

It has already been pointed out that the rates charged for hauling specific farm products from the surplus regions to the regions of relative scarcity have much to do with determining which commodities are to be produced in each section, and consequently on the organization of the farms producing them. From central Iowa to New York the freight costs approximately forty-eight cents per hundredweight for corn and ninety cents per hundredweight for cattle. But between 800 and 1100 pounds of corn are required to make a hundred pounds of beef. Therefore there is a difference in freight on 900 pounds of corn in the form of grain and the same quantity after it has been converted into beef of about $3.42. This is a strong factor in determining just how much corn is to be sold as grain and how

much as beef, and in what sections of the country each is to be produced.

If the cost of transportation results in a very great differential in favor of the production of cattle, the farmer will keep more cattle on his farm and will try to adjust his farm to their care. As a general principle this is simple enough. The difficulty to the farm organizer arises in that there are in each section a number of products which pay about the same rate of return. The farmer must choose among them, and decide just how far to go and where to stop in the production of each.

If the transportation differential is very large, the farmer may find it profitable to devote most of his farm in one way or another to the production of beef. If it is a very minor one he may keep only as many cattle as will make full use of the rough land that he can not possibly cultivate. Between these there is a very wide range of choice. The freight differential will have to be greater to induce the raising of cattle on land especially well adapted to corn than on poor corn land. If there is much rough land poorly adapted for anything except use as pasture, a smaller differential will make the feeding or raising of steers the more profitable system.

The routes of traffic have much to do with the location of markets intermediate between the producer and the consumer of beef. This is especially true since refrigeration became practicable, permitting the killing of the cattle at any convenient point. The place at which the greatest number of trade routes converge, and through which the greatest volume of traffic in live stock flows, possesses an advantage as a market, which soon leads to the establishment of the necessary facilities.

There is a tendency to avoid unnecessary hauls and expense in handling, since the business possessing the great-

est number of economies has an advantage over those which do not. Therefore, there is a line of markets along the Missouri River at points where trade routes from the West converge. As it is profitable to kill the cattle as soon as possible after they leave the ranges due to the saving made by shipping carcasses instead of live animals, packing plants are located at these markets. The Missouri River markets are also the natural feeder cattle markets. They are on the western border of the corn belt and less freight is involved by distributing the feeders from here.

The routes which the railroads take to the east from the Missouri River, often determine just where the feeding of the western cattle is to take place. In the neighborhood of Sutherland in O'Brien County it is reported that there was no feeding of western cattle until after the railroad was built into that section in 1881-1882.[208] There was also no outlet for fat cattle except by driving them a considerable distance. In the neighborhood of Hampton in Franklin County there was little or no feeding of western cattle until the building of the Chicago Great Western through that section in 1903.[209] This gave the people of the neighborhood a direct line from Omaha and direct connections with Chicago.

There has probably been too much said about the effects of freight charges and too little about the service as influencing the cattle industry. It should be remembered that the difference between good and poor service in shipping may amount to much more than a doubling of the ordinary freight rate. It is doubtful if the Emmet County farmer mentioned earlier would have fed cattle had he known that there was to be a traffic congestion to keep him feeding high priced corn long after the cattle were ready to

[208] Interview with Silas Steele of Sutherland.

[209] Interview with D. M. Mott of Hampton.

go to market. It is quite likely that he would have sold the corn as grain and not fed it at all.

The process of transporting the cattle from the farm to the market may cause a large or small shrinkage in weight, depending on how long they are kept in the cars, how much they are crowded, the smoothness of the roadbed, and other factors. If cattle are selling at $10 per hundredweight, an additional one per cent of shrinkage is equal to an increase of ten cents per hundredweight in freight — about a thirty per cent increase, as freight rates from central Iowa to Chicago stand in 1927. The difference between good and poor service in running time and accommodations may cause several times this variation in shrinkage.

X

THE MARKETING OF IOWA CATTLE

In his book on the *Principles of Marketing*, Fred E. Clark classifies the functions of the market mechanism as follows:[210]

A. Functions of Exchange
 1. Demand Creation (selling) 2. Assembly (buying)
B. Functions of Physical Supply
 3. Transportation 4. Storage
C. Auxiliary or Facilitating Functions
 5. Financing 6. Risk-taking 7. Standardization

The functions of transportation and financing have already been discussed. The carrying of risk has been mentioned as far as it applies to the cattle prior to slaughtering.

Standardization has some outstanding limitations as applied to cattle. The variations among cattle are so great that they can not be graded or sold in standard lots in the

[210] Clark's *Principles of Marketing*, Ch. II.

same sense as grain or even some fruits. There may be some tendency towards such standardization but as yet it has made but little progress. This introduces one very important qualification into the marketing of live stock. Each lot must be examined by the would be buyer and bought on the basis of its own peculiarities, which means the peculiarities of each individual animal in it.

This chapter is intended to deal primarily with the functions of exchange. These are performed by a group of associated markets. First there is a large number of local markets made up of cattle producers on the one hand and local buyers on the other. Next there is a small group of central markets, composed of the local buyers or large cattle producers on the selling side and buyers for packers, exporters, and the like, on the other. These various markets are very closely related in some cases and at some times, but at others the connections are quite tenuous and uncertain.

At this point the principal changes that have taken place in the organization of the marketing mechanism that handles cattle and also the changes in its economy of operation should be noted.

The character of the product and the semi-seasonal nature of its production prescribe the conditions under which it must be handled after it reaches the stockyards. The producers, especially of range cattle, find it to their advantage, because of the seasonal nature of the feeds on which cattle are produced, to market more heavily in the fall of the year than at any other time. The number slaughtered would vary even more than it does from fall to spring and summer but for two facts. One is that a large part of the range crop is held back from three to eight months while the cattle are being fed on corn. The other is that the baby beef crop becomes saleable in the summer,

partly offsetting the small number of range cattle sold at that time.

The perishability of the meat necessitates an extensive cold storage system for keeping such meats as the packers or others desire to hold for a while, and a system of refrigerator cars to use in transporting it. The proportion of the fresh meat crop which is held for longer than two weeks is very small. It is possible to hold a small percentage of the surplus meat by freezing it, but the live cattle must be disposed of with very little delay. The loss in weight and the cost of keeping cattle in the stockyards from one day to another is very high, and would result in a large wastage if the system were not developed to the point where they seldom need wait for more than a few hours to find a buyer and be on their way to the shambles.

In the earlier days of cattle production, when they were produced and fattened mostly on grass, a relatively large part of the beef used in the winter was preserved by salting. But this salted beef was not comparable to fresh beef, which consequently commanded a considerably higher price than the cured beef both because of its greater palatability and because of the greater cost of fattening cattle in winter. The coming of refrigeration resulted in a great reduction in the salting of meat. It permitted keeping a part of the fall surplus of fresh beef and resulted in a more even seasonal distribution of the supply, making part of the fall surplus available during the winter months.

DISPOSITION OF CATTLE PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR

In the period prior to the Civil War, as has been mentioned above, there was a considerable movement of cattle westward instead of eastward from Iowa. It is not possible to get any definite measurement of the volume or rate of this movement. For the most part it took the form of the

sale of a yoke of oxen or a cow or two to an immigrant passing by an older settler's place and bound for a newer section.[211] A large number of cattle were also sold by older settlers to newer ones in the same neighborhood, one or two head at a time. It was by this process, which might be called a sort of seepage of live stock into new areas, that the cattle industry extended itself and the new country was stocked.

This marketing was accomplished by direct sale by the raiser to the new man who was starting a herd of his own. It may be considered that this involved no market mechanism at all, as the term is usually understood, yet the function performed, in facilitating the stocking of the new country, was of the greatest importance. Marketing as ordinarily understood, began only after the new section had been settled long enough to produce some steers of marketable age, say at four years old, and had a surplus of stock to be sent out of the neighborhood for killing. Then a need arose for the cattle dealer to assemble this stock and take it to Chicago or some other market. This duty devolved upon anyone who thought he saw an opportunity for profit in taking these cattle to a place where their value was higher than in the community where they were raised. Each of the reports of the Iowa State Agricultural Society up to the time of the Civil War gives some inkling of the beginning of this marketing in mentioning the number of cattle "driven to Chicago" from various new counties. The driving of the first few herds was a matter of some interest. For instance, the report from Kossuth County in 1858 informs us that "about twenty cattle have been driven to Chicago this season", while in the same year Jackson County, being

[211] Interviews with H. C. Weir of Mount Pleasant and R. W. Moore of Cedar. See also the reports in re cattle from counties in Iowa in the *Report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society*, 1858.

older by a few years, had "exported" about four thousand cattle to other sections.

As time passed and the surplus of cattle for market increased, the dealers became more numerous. The dealers who bought up cattle or hogs, starting in the western part of the State and driving their purchases eastward, represent the highest form of development of the pre-railroad marketing system of Iowa. The service which these men performed was undoubtedly a valuable one. The cost of performing it was, however, quite high. The prices paid to the settlers for their stock were much below those obtained in the market.[212] The system of communication which most of the settlers had with the markets was very slow, and often consisted to a considerable degree in contacts with these same dealers. Since there was no other way of disposing of the cattle, the dealers' margin tended to be quite wide until the coming of railroads and quicker communication.

During the Civil War and the period immediately following it there were changes of considerable importance. The marketing of cattle from the Middle West was becoming centralized in Chicago. Within the State the railroads were displacing the cattle dealers as agents for getting the stock to the central markets. The facilities of the railroads for shipping cattle began to be used freely about 1866 or 1867. While the railroads were being built across the State the station farthest west usually became an important shipping station to the people still farther west until the line was again extended. Thus, during the Civil War, cattle from Newton were driven to a station near Grinnell on the Rock Island, where construction had stopped on that road.[213] In the south-central part of the State, the Chicago, Burlington

[212] Interview with Joseph M. Wray of Creston.

[213] Interview with M. A. McCord of Newton.

and Quincy stopped for a time at Ottumwa, which became an important shipping point for that section.[214]

With better transportation the type of cattle marketed from Iowa also changed. The feeding and finishing of cattle increased and fat cattle came to be the principal type shipped east. The business of selling feeder cattle to feeding sections in Illinois fell off greatly, and the cattle were fattened in Iowa instead.

The movement of Iowa cattle to the range section continued.[215] In 1861 a herd was driven from Wapello County to Denver,[216] and in 1862 a herd of about three hundred cattle were driven from Decatur County to a place near Denver where they were sold to ranchmen.[217] In 1881, seven hundred head were driven from the same location in Iowa to South Platte, Nebraska, where they were sold for stockers.[218] This movement continued to about 1885. The cattle driven or shipped west were usually she stock, but occasionally young steers were also taken to the ranges to be kept for a couple of years. They were then sold directly to the markets for beef, or were returned to the corn belt to be fattened on corn. Cattle were shipped from widely separated parts of Iowa to Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Montana, and the Dakotas.[219]

During the cattle boom of the eighties there were a few cattlemen from Iowa who drove or shipped cattle from this

[214] Interview with F. V. Hensleigh of Clarinda.

[215] See a report in regard to the range and cattle business made by T. J. McMinn to Joseph Nimmo, Jr., in *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 48th Congress, Part 3, Document No. 7, p. 195.

[216] Interview with an old settler at Omaha.

[217] Interview with Clabe Brazelton of Leon.

[218] Interview with Clabe Brazelton of Leon.

[219] Interviews with E. H. Mallory of Hampton, Frank B. Montgomery of Muscatine, Joseph M. Wray of Creston, and Clabe Brazelton of Leon.

State to various locations in the range country where they established ranches. In 1883, for example, a herd of about five hundred head was taken from Decatur County to Colorado by a cattleman of that county. In Colorado these cattle were used to start a ranch, which was sold out a few years later, however, when the boom had come to an end.

About 1880 a ranch company was organized among farmers and stockmen in the neighborhood of Spencer. Under the influence of the boom which was then on, it was proposed to start a ranch in Montana. Between two and three thousand cattle were bought up in the neighborhood of Spencer and to the west of that town. These were driven to Montana. The company failed because of hard winters, falling prices, and various other causes.[220] The effect of such shipments to the range country in addition to sales to the East was to encourage cattle raising in Iowa still further and to intensify the boom.

Another, and a longer lived movement of cattle to the West was the sale of purebred stock to the range sections. This business was well under way by 1880. It grew greatly during the boom of the eighties, and for some time thereafter continued to furnish an outlet for a large part of the output of the Iowa purebred business.[221]

TRANSPORTATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MARKETS

During the late fifties, Chicago began a rapid growth as a live stock market.[222] This was largely because of the

[220] Interviews with D. C. Gillespie of Spencer, and H. E. Jones of Everly.

[221] *Lippincott's Magazine,* Vol. XXIV, p. 573.

[222] "The past year has shown a very great increase in the cattle trade of Chicago. Not only have the vast prairies of Illinois contributed largely to this market, but Indiana, Iowa and the entire beef-growing territory of the Northwest, have all made Chicago the center of their operations. Within the past year, too, large droves of cattle have been driven hither from Texas, and this trade which has increased at least two hundred per cent during the

convergence there of railroads from northern Illinois, and the country to the west, and from Wisconsin and other sections to the northwest. From 1857 to 1870 the receipts of cattle at Chicago increased from less than 50,000 to over a half million a year. The bulk of the cattle produced in Iowa naturally moved to the East through Chicago. The Iowa output of cattle increased at a relatively slow rate until about 1870. Then the process of stocking up the State was well advanced, and a larger number began to be sold. In 1863, according to the report of the Iowa State Agricultural Society, there were about 69,000 cattle hauled to market over the railroads of Iowa. In 1869, this number had increased to 90,000. During the next three years it varied between 100,000 and 200,000. By 1881 and 1882 the number hauled to market each year had increased to over half a million.

With this increase in the output of cattle, the number of local buyers increased in proportion. But with the railroads offering a much quicker and cheaper means of transportation to Chicago, the larger cattle growers began to take their own stock to market. This saved the cost of the dealers' services and their profits. Their services had consisted chiefly in the assembling of scattered stock which needed to be "bunched" before it was shipped to the buyers at Chicago.

Prior to 1880 Chicago was for the most part a stopping place where cattle from the west could be sold by their growers to dealers who would reship them alive to the cities in which they were to be consumed. The killing and shipping of beef, which was then handled in cured form, was relatively unimportant. Between 1875 and 1880 the process of refrigeration began to be applied to the meat business.

year 1858, promises to be one of no small magnitude".—*Report of the Chicago Board of Trade*, 1858.

This development and more rapid transportation resulted in a complete change in the method of handling the cattle after they reached Chicago. In the packing season of 1883-1884 the number of cattle packed and shipped dead from Chicago exceeded for the first time the number shipped alive. Thereafter competition between the packers and eastern butchers forced a refinement in the methods of distributing the beef among the consumers. The men engaged in the fresh beef trade depended for their profit on economies in getting the beef to the eastern cities.[223] It was only by making use of these that they were able to compete with the butchers of the East, and overcome the opposition to Chicago killed beef which was fostered by the vested interests in the eastern meat trade, the railroads, and others who had been performing the service in the old way.[224]

The following table shows the number of cattle packed

[223] "The mode of cutting, curing and disposing of meats has as radically changed as the character of the stock itself. The old fashioned method of disposing of the whole of a carcass of beef by salting it away in a barrel has been almost entirely superseded by the process of cooking and canning it, and by the rapidly growing trade in shipping it in the carcass to consuming points in refrigerator cars, without any attempt at curing it by the use of salt. Chicago-killed fresh beef is to be found in almost every city and village in the country, and consumers are realizing that this method of transporting their meat from the West is far preferable to the former method of sending the animals alive by rail, which tends to depreciate the quality of the flesh, or by the still older method of having them 'hoof it' for a thousand miles, more or less, to the slaughter houses of the East".—*Report of the Chicago Board of Trade*, 1883, pp. 17, 18.

[224] In an article on the *Cost and Methods of Transportating Meat Animals*, in the *Year Book of the Department of Agriculture*, 1908, p. 243, Frank Andrews declares:

"From Chicago to New York in 1908 the freight and other expenses of the road on an export steer of average weight (1250 pounds) were $4 to $4.40, while the freight on the average amount of fresh beef yielded by the animal, 700 pounds, would amount to only $3.15, not including the expense of icing. From Kansas City to New York the corresponding difference between live and dead freight is still greater, amounting possibly to $2.25 or $2.50 per head".

in Chicago from 1864 to 1925. The year in each case begins on March 1st. Beginning with 1876-1877 the figures include Chicago consumption of beef. Figures for this table were obtained from the annual reports of the Chicago Board of Trade.

TABLE VII

NUMBER OF CATTLE PACKED IN CHICAGO

Year	Number of Cattle Packed	Year	Number of Cattle Packed
1864-1865	92,459	1894-1895	1,958,206
1865-1866	27,172	1895-1896	1,810,593
1866-1867	25,996	1896-1897	1,756,431
1867-1868	35,348	1897-1898	1,732,296
1868-1869	26,950	1898-1899	1,603,380
1869-1870	11,963	1899-1900	1,734,776
1870-1871	21,254	1900-1901	1,814,921
1871-1872	16,080	1901-1902	2,047,489
1872-1873	15,755	1902-1903	2,017,563
1873-1874	21,712	1903-1904	2,163,976
1874-1875	41,192	1904-1905	1,918,665
1875-1876	63,783	1905-1906	1,988,955
1876-1877	324,998	1906-1907	1,988,504
1877-1878	310,456	1907-1908	1,817,737
1878-1879	391,500	1908-1909	1,637,295
1879-1880	486,537	1909-1910	1,698,921
1880-1881	511,711	1910-1911	1,735,189
1881-1882	575,924	1911-1912	1,733,188
1882-1883	697,033	1912-1913	1,639,364
1883-1884	1,182,905	1913-1914	1,520,440
1884-1885	1,319,115	1914-1915	1,442,870
1885-1886	1,402,613	1915-1916	1,962,048
1886-1887	1,608,202	1916-1917	2,073,553
1887-1888	1,963,051	1917-1918	2,411,750
1888-1889	2,050,627	1918-1919	2,823,463
1889-1890	2,206,185	1919-1920	2,252,291
1890-1891	2,680,333	1920-1921	1,836,442
1891-1892	2,667,523	1921-1922	1,701,637
1892-1893	2,469,373	1922-1923	2,108,015
1893-1894	2,181,366	1923-1924	2,111,906
		1924-1925	2,128,368

The method of marketing Iowa cattle was not greatly changed by the new developments in the beef trade. The cattle continued to be sold in Chicago, but instead of being sold to shippers, they were now sold in increasing numbers to packers for killing in Chicago. With the development of Chicago as a killing center, it came to be more than ever the outstanding cattle market of the country.

Meantime, marketing facilities were being developed at points other than Chicago. In the Missouri Valley, stockyards naturally grew up between the range country and the corn belt country at points where railroads or cattle trails converged. As time passed the transportation routes shifted, and the driving of cattle was displaced by the railroads. Some of the small early shipping points became less important. Others, such as Kansas City, St. Joseph, Omaha, and Sioux City grew in importance.

Between 1870 and 1880 the increase in the number of cattle moving to the East from the Southwest caused Kansas City to become an important cattle market. Between 1880 and 1890 this market continued to grow until it handled between a million and a quarter and a million and a half cattle per year, as compared to one hundred and twenty thousand in 1871 and a quarter of a million in 1880. During the same period a stockyard at St. Joseph, which was more of a pork packing town than a cattle market, likewise began to grow but at a much slower rate. In 1884 the Union Stockyards at South Omaha were organized, superseding earlier yards which had not prospered. In 1887 the Sioux City Stockyards were established in response to the growing need of the cattle producing country immediately to the northwest of Iowa.

The development of the live stock markets in the Middle West accompanied and was closely associated with the development of more economical methods in the transporta-

tion of live stock and meat. As a result the terminals of cattle marketing may be said to have moved westward and the relative importance of the markets along the Atlantic seaboard decreased greatly.

These developments and the improvements in communication with the country districts tended to make the entire live stock marketing mechanism of the country into something like a unified system. Previously it might be said that each local buying point constituted a separate market in which prices might often be considerably out of line with those in the central markets. Indeed the central markets themselves were but loosely knit together in the earlier days, and the trend toward a unified market characterized the whole period from the late sixties to the present.

In Iowa the local marketing underwent a change in the trade in feeder cattle. The services of the dealers in collecting the feeders from the regions where herds were to be found were dispensed with. The herds disappeared, and the cattlemen could no longer depend on the newer settlements for a full supply of feeders. They now began to go to the Missouri River markets to buy their feeders. The larger stockmen had usually bought up cattle for themselves and had given little business to the dealers previously. Now both the large and the small cattlemen began to do their own buying. Practically the only business left to the dealers was in buying up the small lots of fat cattle and shipping them to market. This continued on a smaller scale until the present time. The decline in the business of the local cattle dealers and in their relative importance as a marketing agency was most rapid between 1890 and 1900.[225]

In the sale of thin cattle to feeders the old and less accurate methods of sale persisted longer than in the handl-

[225] Interview with J. Murray of Rock Rapids, and with an old settler at Ida Grove.

ing of the fat stock. As late as 1909 a writer in *The Iowa Homestead* said:[226]

> In every state of the corn belt you will find certain counties or parts of counties devoted wholly to the production of grass, and in these places cattle raising is the chief industry. Steers are kept there until they are three years old, but quite often they are shipped out as yearlings and two year olds. The industry seems to have developed a new species of the human race and you will find more sharp practices engaged in by men who are in that business in one day than you would in a year, circulating among corn belt farmers.
>
> When you go into a so-called cattle country to buy steers, one of the first things that you will go up against will be the fact that the practice of weighing cattle is unheard of. I can take you to counties right in the heart of the corn belt where I believe you could not find a single cattle scales there. Even where the railroads have put in scales at shipping points, these have become useless because they are never used, or they have purposely been put out of business.

As in most business enterprises, the seller felt justified in selling as high as possible, and in taking advantage of unskillful buyers. It is not surprising that there was little weighing of cattle in the sections of the corn belt which produced feeders. The number of cattle sold from a farm each year was small. It would not have been profitable for the farmer to buy scales for weighing these few head, and he had but little use for them other than this. Therefore, there was a strong tendency to "lump off" the cattle, that is, to sell at so much per head rather than by weight. To some extent this practice has continued to the present in some sections. The larger feeders and farmers who produced larger numbers of hogs, or large quantities of grain for sale eventually bought scales so that they could do their buying and selling on a more accurate basis.

[226] *The Iowa Homestead*, December 9, 1909.

ATTEMPTS TO REORGANIZE OR CONTROL THE MARKETS

The organization of coöperative live stock shipping associations began in 1904.[227] The number formed for a few years was small. Only fifty-seven had been organized to the end of 1916, but the number increased to six hundred and ten by the end of 1920. These associations dealt more largely in hogs than in cattle, but even in the sale of cattle, the coöperatives began to displace the dealers to some extent. In most sections where coöperatives were organized, they competed with the dealers without putting them out of business. This was probably as great a service as they could be expected to render. The presence of the coöperatives offered an alternative outlet for live stock and thereby tended to prevent the dealers from taking too wide a margin, or resorting to unfair practices.

The growth of the markets resulted in a specialization of functions among those engaged in handling the stock. In the early years it was not uncommon for the same man to perform the functions of most of the present market personnel. The same man might sell on commission, deal in cattle on his own account, and buy on orders. In more recent years, while it has not been unusual for the same firm to fill some other than their principal function, the commission men confine their activities very largely to selling on commission, the order buyers to that function, and the traders carry on only a minor business in commission sales.[228]

[227] See the article on *Coöperative Livestock Shipping in Iowa in 1920*, by E. G. Nourse and C. W. Hammans, in *Bulletin No. 200* of the Agricultural Experiment Station, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

[228] "I feel satisfied in my own mind that the services of twenty years ago was as efficient, if not more so, than what we are receiving today. In my first experience with the Kansas City markets salesmen took a great deal of trouble in sorting up the cattle so that they could get the best results for the sales; but now if you go to the market with a train load of feeders, what does the commission man do? Does he take the trouble to sort up your cattle and hunt for a country buyer, so as to get the best results? No, he does not. He

The rapid increase in the number of coöperative shipping associations after 1914 gave some leaders in the live stock industry a hope that it might be possible to organize a large part or even the majority of the producers into a single coöperative marketing organization. A committee of fifteen was appointed by the president of the American Farm Bureau Federation on October 8, 1920, at a conference of live stock producers and allied interests. What was hoped or expected to be the final outcome is not altogether apparent. In the back of the heads of many farm organizers of the time there was plainly some idea of influencing or manipulating prices in such a way as to increase the income of the producers. The committee in its report stated that it had found it necessary to consider "coöperative marketing, orderly marketing, live stock production and marketing information, transportation and financing".[229] The National Live Stock Producers Association was organized, at the behest of the Committee of Fifteen, to be the central and controlling agency. Under this agency it was proposed to establish commission associations at the principal markets, to handle the stock shipped to them by the local live

takes the easiest way possible for himself—sells the cattle to a scalper, and the scalper sells them to a countryman, through probably the same commission house which sold them to the scalper. . . .

"What is said here with reference to Kansas City applies with even greater force to Omaha. Experienced shippers and buyers of feeders say that it is almost impossible for the feeder to buy a bunch of feeders at first hands in the Omaha market; they must pass through the hands of one, and sometimes two scalpers, and the commission firm adds a second commission to the total of the scalpers thus raising the price to the buyer twenty to fifty cents per hundred".—*Wallaces' Farmer*, February 9, 1906.

The above is indicative of the growth of more specialized marketing agencies. From the reports of cattle feeders, it also shows an abuse which grew up during the early part of the century. It became common for the commission firms to sell feeders to scalpers or traders, rather than to farmers whom they knew wanted the cattle. The trader then sold to the farmer, making a profit on the transaction by selling as high as he could.

[229] *Report of the Committee of Fifteen*, November 10, 1921, p. 2.

stock shipping associations, which were also to become parts of the coöperative marketing system. Other organizations were planned to buy stockers and feeders for the farmers belonging to the system and to disseminate information. These in brief were the principal features in the coöperative marketing program.

Like most ambitious plans to change the economic organization of an industry, the plan of the Committee of Fifteen was not adopted by the producers as quickly as it was hoped. The shipping associations did not all fall in with the plan. Even had they all acquiesced, the organization would not have represented a very large part of the industry. The next step was to undertake the organization of the projected commission associations, and to foster the growth of the subordinate parts of the system. The result was a slow growth from the central organization downward towards the ranks which took the form of a campaign to organize coöperative commission associations, and to induce those already organized to become parts of the system.

The opinion has frequently been expressed by farmers and others that the prices of cattle were largely controlled by the packers, who have been the principal buyers of stock and have plants in all of the larger live stock markets of the country. From the nature of the business it is evident that the packers could not actually determine the prices of live stock for any considerable period of time. There are too many small independent packers competing with them for the cattle, and the small local butchers constitute a potential competition in case the packers were to combine and to depress live stock prices or raise the price of meat to any appreciable extent. An attempt by the packers to maintain the prices of meats above the level to which live stock had fallen in 1907, actually brought this potential

competition into play, as has been related in Chapter VIII.[230]

There is, however, the possibility of the largest buyers influencing the prices of cattle for a short time under favoring conditions. It seems likely that such an influence as that in 1907 may have been brought about without a definite agreement among the packers. Under the conditions existing at the time, the packers, acting individually, would naturally refrain from buying as many cattle or hogs as usual until they had disposed of what stores they had on hand. And it is not to be expected that they would voluntarily reduce the prices and thereby incur a loss on products for which they had paid high prices. It is a legitimate following of self-interest to buy as low and sell as high as it is possible without incurring permanent injuries in trade.[231]

[230] *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XVI, pp. 97-102.

[231] Regarding the possibility of the prices of cattle being influenced by the packers, the following excerpt from an article by William Hill, in the *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1-12, is interesting and suggests something of the conditions existing in the markets and the packing industry in 1904:

"There are about ten important firms which buy cattle at Chicago for the export trade or for eastern markets. It is not suggested that they act in collusion with the packers. They compete in the market for such cattle as are needed to fill their orders. But after their orders are filled about 80 per cent of the beef cattle coming to the Union Stock Yards remain unsold. Formerly the packers competed with these 'order buyers' for cattle. Then by so manipulating things that most of the cattle were received on Monday and Wednesday of each week, making practically a two-day market, it was possible for the packers to keep out of the bidding till the 'order buyers' had filled their orders, and secure what remained at reduced prices. Frequently prices would drop twenty to thirty cents as soon as the orders were filled and the market left to the packers. Since the strike a serious attempt has been made to spread the receipts over the week, and a five-day market has been resumed. But the salesmen in the yards maintain that the packers still keep out of the market till the outside orders are filled, and that the buyers for Armour, Swift, Morris, and the National Packing Co. never bid against each other. It is common for buyers for these firms to ask the salesman: 'who is bidding on these cattle?' An outsider's bid will sometimes be raised,

In 1917 the control of the government over the packers and dealers in meats had considerable influence on the cattle business. The limitation of the packers' profits to nine per cent of the capital employed and to two and one-half cents on the dollar of sales was intended to stabilize the price of meat.[232] The meatless days, and other attempts to induce the people to economize on meats, undoubtedly prevented the prices from rising as high as they would otherwise have done.

In 1921 the agitation for market regulation culminated in the passing of the Packers and Stockyards Act by Congress. The law emerged in a form which had little immediate effect on the trade. The packers, who are dealt with under Title II, were not prohibited from any act not

but if told that the bid is by one of the combine, the reply is: 'Better sell them.' The buyers for the four firms in the combine seem to agree with mathematical accuracy on the value of any drove of cattle. At least their bids are remarkably similar. A few years ago there was greater difference in their estimates of the value of cattle. Perhaps greater experience has rendered them more skillful in estimating values. Perhaps the conferences which the buyers not infrequently hold as they ride through the alleys looking at the cattle affect the conclusions reached. Possibly the fact that three of the most important representatives from each of the big firms—Armour, Swift, and Morris—meet together frequently as directors of the National Packing Co., discuss the trade situation, and determine upon prices and policy for this firm which they own jointly, may explain the harmony of action by representatives of the three firms. Whatever be the explanation, there seems to be no doubt, among those best informed, that the great difficulties in the way of monopolizing this industry have been overcome, and that the big packers are working in harmony''.

The foregoing is illustrative of the general opinion at the time it was written concerning the packers and their control over prices and markets. That they may have attempted to manipulate the markets and control prices at various times does not seem improbable. That their position in the business permitted them the profit by market movements as in the fall of 1907, or at least to avoid much of the loss which fell to live stock producers and other classes seems quite likely. But it should be remembered that ''working in harmony'', and monopolizing the business and controlling prices are very different things.

[232] *War Industries Board Price Bulletin*, No. 20, p. 12.

already prohibited under the earlier laws aimed at trusts and monopolies. Attempts to manipulate or control prices, or to create a monopoly or restrain commerce were made unlawful, as they were in the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and later acts on the same subject.

The new feature of the act of 1921 was that it set up a machine for constant use for the enforcement of the law. The administration of the act was lodged with the Secretary of Agriculture who was authorized to promulgate such rules and regulations as necessary. The Secretary was given access to the accounts of persons coming under the law, and was authorized to prescribe the form in which they should be kept.

The purpose of the act was to maintain a constant supervision over the meat industry, instead of waiting for abuses to grow up before anything was done to improve matters. The "Packers and Stockyards Administration" was organized by the Secretary to administer the law and was placed under an assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture. A force of accountants, live stock market supervisors, and special investigators served to maintain a vigilance over the practices of the stockyards and packers. When practices prohibited by the law are discovered the Secretary issues an order to desist. If it is disregarded, prosecution is begun, followed by a fine or the imprisonment of the offending parties.[233]

In the development of the live stock marketing system some abuses inevitably grew up. Others were suspected without there being satisfactory proof of their existence. The result was a constant agitation among some producers against the marketing agencies and the packers, and an

[233] See, for example, an article on *Legislation for the Farmers, Packers and Grain Exchanges*, by G. O. Virtue, in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 687-704.

occasional prosecution. The development of the markets had, in the main, been a normal and natural one bringing into existence an institution which served its purpose well. The government regulation as imposed by the Packers and Stockyards Act of 1921 instead of embarrassing the marketing mechanism, as some of its more rabid opponents seemed to desire, promised to minimize the abuses and to remove the grounds for complaint.

THE PRESENT MARKETING MECHANISM

The mechanism which transfers cattle from the grower to the packing plant may be divided into two parts, exclusive of the transportation system. The first part has to do with the assembling of the stock at the shipping points in the country. The second has to do with the actual selling in the markets. The first function is filled by the local dealers, the coöperative shipping associations, and the larger cattle feeders or producers who are able to ship for themselves. The local buyers, many of whom are farmers themselves, buy from farmers and ship when they get a carload. The price received by the farmer is a result of bargaining with the dealer. The dealers not infrequently buy cattle at so much per head, depending on their greater experience in judging the weight and qualities of cattle to enable them to get the better of the bargain. The pay of the dealer consists in whatever increment in price he can get over that paid the farmer.

The coöperative shipping association acts as the agent of the farmer. It performs essentially the same function as the local dealer and frequently some others which the local dealer is not able to do. It facilitates combination by a number of farmers of their small lots of stock. These are shipped together by the coöperative association, but a separate account is kept of the sales of each lot. The ex-

penses are prorated over the shipments and are deducted from the proceeds of the sales.[234]

The coöperatives also generally keep their members in somewhat closer touch with the market and its requirements than do the local dealers who are acting primarily in their own interests and only incidentally in those of the producers. One of the ideals of the development of coöperatives is that they should keep the producers in close touch with the markets and help them foresee the consumers wants in advance of the sale of their products. This means that the coöperatives should help the producers plan their production programs, and then to direct the marketing process in a rational and systematic way, to obtain the maximum advantage from production. In a few commodities this development has advanced a considerable way, but it must be confessed that with a few exceptions it is still an ideal rather than an accomplishment in marketing live stock.

When the cattle arrive at the markets they are ordinarily sold through commission men. They act as agents of the shippers and are obliged to sell for as high a price as they can obtain. The expenses such as freight, feed, and terminal charges are deducted by the commission man from the proceeds and the balance is forwarded to the shipper. By the use of the facilities of the shipping associations and of the commission men, the farmer obtains greater convenience and skill than he himself could furnish in getting the stock to the market and in getting the highest price possible.

The commission man may sell the cattle to the buyers of the packing companies, or to buyers who represent dealers or wholesale butchers in eastern cities, or to exporters. In

[234] See an article on *Coöperative Livestock Shipping in Iowa in 1920*, by E. S. Nourse and C. W. Hammans, in *Bulletin No. 200* of the Agricultural Experiment Station, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

the case of stockers or feeders, the buyer is usually either a cattle feeder or else a trader or speculator who intends to sell to a feeder. These traders or scalpers fill much the same function in the cattle market as the speculators do in the grain pit. They have a steadying influence on the market. If they see a lot of cattle that can be bought at what they consider a low price, they buy and hold till the next day in order to find a buyer. Some scalpers even send trainloads of feeders into cattle feeding sections to be auctioned off. The potential demand of the traders thus helps to stabilize the prices of cattle as between days when the supply on the market is greater or smaller than usual.

The function of the central live stock market is to provide a place where the cattle can be exhibited for sale, and where the packers or other buyers can obtain the stock they need. In other words the market provides a place in which the men who have produced or who have control of various parts of the supply of cattle can meet the representatives of various demands for cattle. The attendants, pens, and other facilities provided by the corporation owning the stockyards are intended to reduce the effort and expense in getting the cattle from the producer to the consumer.

The live stock exchanges are organizations of the firms engaged in the handling of stock as it passes through the yards. It is the function of these organizations to formulate rules to standardize methods of procedure in the market and prevent dishonest practices which would interfere with the prosecution of the business, increase the marketing expense, and put the particular market at a disadvantage by giving it a bad name with shippers or buyers.

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Ames Iowa

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Iowa Geological Survey. Annual Reports, 1925 and 1926. Compiled by George F. Kay and James H. Lees. Des Moines: The State of Iowa. 1927. Pp. 557. Plates and maps. This is Volume XXXII of the reports of the Iowa Geological Survey. In addition to the annual reports of the Director, George F. Kay, for 1925 and 1926, the volume includes the following valuable papers: *Mineral Production in Iowa in 1925,* by James H. Lees; *Mineral Production in Iowa in 1926,* by James H. Lees; *Rock Resources of Iowa,* by George F. Kay; *Iowa Coal Areas and Characteristics of Iowa Coal,* by James H. Lees; *The Use of Iowa Coal for Steam Production,* by T. A. Marsh; *Possible Researches in Iowa Coal,* by B. P. Fleming; *Geology of Lucas County,* by Alvin L. Lugn; *Geology of Crawford County,* by James H. Lees; and *Altitudes in Iowa,* by James H. Lees. The volume contains sixty-four illustrations, three maps, and an adequate index; it is in keeping with the high standard set in previous volumes in this series.

A Record of Colonial Craftsmanship is an interesting contribution to the *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* for March.

The *Bulletin of the Virginia State Library* for January contains the *Journal of the House of Delegates of Virginia* for the session held in March, 1781.

Dan Hill, Retired Engineer, Reflects on Early Days, by L. O. Leonard, is an article of historical interest, in the *Rock Island Magazine* for March.

The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902, by Ralph Clipman McDanel, has been published in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.*

Havasupai Ethnography, by Leslie Spier, has been published as

Part III of Volume XXIX of the *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History.*

Some Aspects of the Philosophy of L. T. Hobhouse, by J. A. Nicholson, has been published in the *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.*

Arthur James May has written an account of *Contemporary American Opinion of the Mid-Century Revolutions in Central Europe* which has been published by the University of Pennsylvania.

A scholarly account of *British Emigration to British North America, 1783–1837,* by Helen I. Cowan, has been published in the University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics.

The State of North Carolina has published the *Public Papers and Letters of Cameron Morrison Governor of North Carolina 1921–1925.* The volume was compiled by William H. Richardson and edited by D. L. Corbitt.

The Quarterly Journal of Economics for May contains the following articles of historical interest: *Equilibrium in International Trade: the United States 1919–26,* by James W. Angell; and *The Growth of English Shipping 1572–1922,* by Abbott Payson Usher.

The Catholic Historical Review for April is devoted exclusively to the *Proceedings and Papers of the Washington Meeting* of the American Catholic Historical Association which was held at Washington, D. C., on December 28–30, 1927.

Two articles of historical interest in *The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* for March are *Voting in California Cities, 1900–1925,* by Charles H. Titus; and *Pedro Looks at Uncle Sam,* by Herman G. James.

Volume II of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1922 has been distributed. This volume contains the *Austin Papers,* from January, 1828, to September, 1834, edited by Eugene C. Barker of the University of Texas.

Incunabulum Incunabulorum is the title of an interesting monograph giving an account of the Gutenberg Bible on vellum in the Vollbehr Collection at Berlin. The monograph is the work of Edwin Emerson and is printed by the Tudor Press of New York.

A valuable monograph on *North Carolina Newspapers before 1790,* by Charles Christopher Crittenden, has been published as Number 1 of Volume XX of *The James Sprunt Historical Studies.* This is a publication of the Department of History and Government of the University of North Carolina.

An Abbreviated Account of Certain Men of Onondaga County Who Did Service in the War of 1861–65 in the 149th New York Volunteer Regiment Infantry is the title of a booklet, prepared by Captain George K. Collins and published by the Onondaga Historical Association at Syracuse, New York.

Sun Worship in the Southeast, by John R. Swanton; *Cremation and the Preservation of the Dead in North America,* by Edwin Oliver James; *The Lead Glaze Decorated Pottery of the Pueblo Region,* by Walter Hough; and *A Prehistoric Village Site in Greenup County, Kentucky,* by Wm. S. Webb, are some of the papers and articles in the *American Anthropologist* for April-June, 1928.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science continues the publication of valuable monographs in *The Annals* for 1928. The number for January is devoted to a series of papers on *Great Inland Water-way Projects in the United States;* the number for June contains discussions on *Progress in the Law;* and the issue for May presents a number of papers on *Standards in Industry.*

The Institute for Government Research at Washington, D. C., has recently published a volume on *The Problem of Indian Administration.* This is the report of a survey made at the request of Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior. The survey staff under the direction of Lewis Meriam has made a comprehensive and valuable study of the Indian situation in the United States to-day.

The Journal of Negro History for April contains the following

articles and papers: *Negro History Week the Third Year,* by C. G. Woodson; *Charles Sumner and the Rights of the Negro,* by Carl M. Frasure; *Abolitionist Literature in the Mails, 1835-1836,* by W. Sherman Savage; and *Interesting Notes on Great Britain and Canada with Respect to the Refugees,* by William Renwick Riddell.

The American Historical Review for April contains an account of the meeting of the American Historical Association at Washington, an article on *Constructive Treason by Words in the Fifteenth Century,* by Samuel Rezneck; an account of *Consular Service in the Reign of Charles II,* by Violet Barbour; and a sketch of *The Irish Migration of the 'Forties,* by Frances Morehouse. Under *Documents* appear *Letters of a West Pointer, 1860-1861,* contributed by Francis Sullivan.

Indian Notes for April contains several important articles on the Indians including: *Some Indian Ideas of Property,* by Melvin R. Gilmore; *The Algonquin at Golden Lake, Ontario,* by Frederick Johnson; *Ruins in Southwestern Colorado,* by Ernest Ingersoll; *Old Cradle from Taos, New Mexico,* by F. W. Hodge; and *Tracing the Pueblo Boundary in Nevada,* by M. R. Harrington.

Articles and papers in *The American Political Science Review* for February include *Physics and Politics — An Old Analogy Revised,* by William B. Munro; *The Personnel of the English Cabinet, 1801–1924,* by Harold J. Laski; *The Separation of Powers in the Eighteenth Century,* by William S. Carpenter; *A Decade of Sino-Russian Diplomacy,* by Malbone W. Graham, Jr., and *Constitutional Law in 1926-27,* by Robert E. Cushman.

Literary Aspects of Winnebago Mythology, by Paul Radin, is an article of interest to mid-western readers in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* for January-March, 1926. This number was issued in December, 1927. *Ballads and Songs from Mississippi,* by Arthur P. Hudson, form a valuable collection in the number for April-June, 1926, published in February, 1928. The issue for July-September, 1926, published in March, 1928, is devoted exclusively to *Porto Rican Folk-Lore; Folk-Tales,* by J. Alden Mason and Aurelio M. Espinosa.

Americana for April contains the following papers and articles: *A Forgotten Hero of the Revolution,* by Louis H. Bolander; *Timothy Flint, A Distinguished Traveler, Missionary, Editor and Author During the Early History of the Middle West,* by Charles A. Ingraham; *A de Bonneville Sketch,* by Anne E. Ford; *Interesting Records of "The Good Old Days",* by Elroy S. Thompson; and *Building the Federal City. The First Decade* (1791–1801) *of Washington, D. C.,* by Edwin Melvin Williams.

WESTERN AMERICANA

The *Annual Report of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* for 1927 has recently been distributed.

The Northern Boundary of Indiana, an interesting monograph by Mrs. Frank J. Sheehan, has been published as Number 6 of Volume VIII of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications.*

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has issued the *Proceedings of the Society at its Seventy-fifth Annual Meeting Held October 20, 1927,* in booklet form.

The *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for May contains another delightful sketch in the series of *Detroit Biographies,* by M. M. Quaife. *Commodore Alexander Grant* is the subject of this number.

Wisconsin Indian Fishing — Primitive and Modern, by H. W. Kuhm, is the principal article in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for January. The April number contains an account of *Lake Geneva and Lake Como,* by Charles E. Brown and Theodore T. Brown.

The Lincoln Centennial Association has issued another volume of *Lincoln Centennial Association Papers* which consists of addresses delivered before the Association on February 12, 1927. This is the fourth volume in the series.

A continuation of *The McAfee Papers, Nelson County Tax Lists, Kentucky Bible Records,* and *Early Settlers in Campbell County,* by Helen Bradley Lindsey, form the contents of *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for May.

Incidents in the Life of Mary Todd Lincoln, by Carlos W. Goltz, has been published in booklet form by the author at Sioux City. The author has presented a copy of this interesting sketch to the State Historical Society.

The Indian Agency House and the Black Hawk War, by Deborah B. Martin, is the title of the principal article in the *Green Bay Historical Bulletin* for January-February. The number for March-April contains an account of the visitation of *The Green Bay Fly in 1819,* by Henry A. Schuette.

Reverend John D. Shane's Interview with Pioneer William Clinkenbeard, by John D. Shane; and *Pioneer Stations in Nelson County,* by John D. Wickliffe, are the two articles in the April number of *The History Quarterly,* published by The Filson Club and the University of Louisville.

A volume entitled *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1927,* containing an account of the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Society at Springfield on May 12 and 13, 1927, has recently been distributed by the Illinois State Historical Library.

The Little Brown Church in the Vale, by May L. Bauchle; and *The Kekoskee War,* by Bessie Hutchison, are two articles of historical interest in *The Wisconsin Magazine* for March. *Raft Life on the Wisconsin River,* by R. S. Babington; and *The Legend of Veroqua,* by Ruth Lauder, are included in the number for May.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for October, 1925, issued in May, 1928, contains the following articles: *Letters to a President of the United States — James K. Polk,* by William E. Beard; *David Crockett,* by Austin P. Foster; and *African Slavery as I Knew It in Southern Arkansas,* by S. H. Chester.

The Valley of the Fontenelle, by Ella Holden; *The Naming of Mount Owen,* by William O. Owen; *Howard Michael,* an autobiography; *Fort Bridger,* by Alex Chambers; and *Reminiscences,* by H. L. Kuykendall and Al White, are papers and articles in the double number of the *Annals of Wyoming* for October, 1927-January, 1928.

Notes on the Akwa'ala Indians of Lower California, by E. W. Gifford and R. H. Lowie, is a monograph recently published in the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.* This is an interesting account based on an interview with Jackrabbit, an aged shaman of the Akwa'ala Indians.

The University of North Dakota, 1885–1887, by Vernon P. Squires; *The State Geological Survey During the Past Twenty-five Years,* by Arthur G. Leonard; and *The Old and the New,* by O. G. Libby, are three articles of historical interest in *The Quarterly Journal* published by The University of North Dakota.

A continuation of the sketch of *Geronimo,* by John P. Clum; the concluding installment of *Barreiro's Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico,* by Lansing B. Bloom; *Letters of William Carr Lane, 1852–1854,* by Ralph P. Bieber; and the *Secretary's Biennial Report for 1926-27,* by Lansing B. Bloom, comprise the papers and articles in *The New Mexico Historical Review* for April.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History for March contains the *Memoirs of a Pioneer Country Editor,* by Joseph Carman Cover; *Pioneer and Political Reminiscences,* by Nils P. Haugen; *Annals of a Wisconsin Thresherman,* by Angie Kumlien Main; *The Parkman Club,* by John G. Gregory; and another installment of *Historic Spots in Wisconsin,* by W. A. Titus.

The New Mexico Historical Society has published a book *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico,* by George P. Hammond, Assistant Professor of History in the University of Southern California. This book is "a new investigation into the early history of New Mexico in the light of a mass of new materials recently obtained from the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain".

The *Missouri Historical Society Collections* for June contain the following addresses and articles: *Early History of Aeronautics in St. Louis,* by Albert Bond Lambert and William B. Robertson; *Some Newly Discovered Missouri Maps,* by Gilbert Joseph Garraghan, S. J.; *Letters of James and Robert Aull,* edited by Ralph

P. Bieber; and the *De Mun Family in America,* by Nettie H. Beauregard.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for April contains the following papers and articles: *Minor Empresario Contracts for the Colonization of Texas, 1825–1834,* by Mary Virginia Henderson; a continuation of *A History of the J. A. Ranch,* by Harley True Burton; *The Pioneer Harrises of Harris County,* by Adele B. Looscan; and a continuation of the *Diary of Adolphus Sterne,* edited by Harriet Smither.

Dan Carpenter, Pioneer Merchant and Horticulturist, by David W. May; *The Rise and Growth of Protestant Bodies in the Missouri Territory,* by Lucy Simmons; *Pioneer Days in Northwest Missouri — Harrison County, 1837–1873,* by Ethel Grant Inman; and a continuation of *William H. Richardson's Journal of Doniphan's Expedition* are articles and papers in *The Missouri Historical Review* for April.

The *Influence of American Settlement upon the Oregon Boundary Treaty of 1846,* by Leslie M. Scott; and a continuation of *A History of Bandon and the Coquille River,* by George Bennett, are two leading articles in *The Oregon Historical Quarterly* for March. Under *Documents* appear the *Report of Lieutenant Peel on Oregon in 1845-46,* edited by Leslie M. Scott; and *The Journey to Oregon — A Pioneer Girl's Diary,* edited by Claire Warner Churchill.

The Washington Historical Quarterly for April contains the following articles and papers: *History and Science,* by Edmond S. Meany; *Hydro-Electric Power in Washington,* by C. Edward Magnusson; *The Indian Raid on the Cascades in March, 1856,* by F. M. Sebring; *The Old Stevens Mansion,* by Kate Stevens Bates; and a continuation of *Yakima Days,* by Denys Nelson. An *Army Officer's Report on Indian War and Treaties* is published under *Documents.*

The Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee has published a brochure of some three hundred pages entitled the *Ethnobotany of the Meskwaki Indians,* by Huron H. Smith. Meskwaki plants are

discussed under the headings of "Medicines", "Foods", "Fibers", "Dyes", and "Miscellaneous Uses". In the *Introduction* the author includes a brief historical account of the Meskwaki and some of their customs. The *Year Book of the Public Museum* for 1927 has also recently been distributed.

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for March and April contains extended accounts of the work of local historical societies in Indiana. An extra number of the *Bulletin* for April is devoted exclusively to an account of the *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Indiana History Conference* which was held at Indianapolis on December 9, 10, 1927. The number for May contains additional data about the proposed George Rogers Clark memorial at Vincennes.

The Colorado Magazine for February contains the following papers and articles: *Early Settlements of Southern Colorado,* by Francis T. Cheetham; *Fort Jackson and the Early Fur Trade on the South Platte,* by LeRoy R. Hafen; *Origin of the Name of the Purgatoire River,* by A. W. McHendrie; and *Empire City in the Sixties,* by Emma Shepard Hill. *Butchering Buffalo,* by Chauncey Thomas; *Yuma,* by Helen Slater; *The Founding of Dolores,* by Ruth S. Clark; and *Books Concerning Colorado,* by Lenette J. Davidson, are contributions in the April number.

Daniel Webster and the West, by Clyde A. Duniway; *Backgrounds of Minnesota,* by Theodore Christianson; *The Topography and Geology of the Grand Portage,* by George M. Schwartz; *Early Minneapolis Theaters,* by Randolph Edgar; *Historical Bookkeeping by Quadruple Entry,* by William E. Culkin; *The Minnesota Historical Society in 1927,* by Solon J. Buck; and an account of *The 1928 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society* are contributions in *Minnesota History* for March.

The March *Bulletin* of the Lincoln Centennial Association contains reports of the activities of the Association during the past year. The issue for June is devoted to a description of *The Lincoln Way,* by S. M. Blunk. The "Lincoln Way" is the route traveled by the Lincolns in their migration from the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln in Kentucky to their home in Spencer County,

Indiana, in 1876, and from their home in Indiana to their first home in Illinois, ten miles west of Decatur, and from the Illinois home to Springfield.

Dr. John Sibley of Natchitoches, 1757–1837, by G. P. Whittington; *Carondelet's Levee Ordinance, 1792,* translated by Laura L. Porteous; *Laurent MacMahon, First Councillor, Superior Council of Louisiana and Director Company of the Indies at New Orleans, 1730-31,* by Henry P. Dart; the *Induction into Office of Laurent MacMahon, 1730,* translated by Heloise H. Cruzat, and a continuation of *Documents Concerning Bienville's Lands in Louisiana, 1719–1737,* translated by Heloise H. Cruzat with an introduction by Henry P. Dart, are included in the contributions to *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for October, 1927.

The *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for April contains a sketch of the career of Right Reverend Peter James Muldoon, the first Bishop of Rockford, by J. Allen Nolan; and an account of Bishop Muldoon's war and reconstruction services, by Charles A. McMahon. Other articles in this number include: a continuation of *Travel Literature as Source Material for American Church History,* by Joseph Paul Ryan; *The Dark and Bloody Ground,* by Paul J. Foik; and a continuation of *Illinois: The Cradle of Christianity and Civilization in Mid-America,* by Joseph J. Thompson. This issue of the magazine is listed as the *Bishop Muldoon Memorial Number.*

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for October, 1927, contains the following articles and papers: the *Anti-Slavery Convention held in Alton, Illinois, October 26–28, 1837,* by A. L. Bowen; *The Piasa or Thunder Bird,* by Henry Lee Stoddard; *An Illinois Village, 1873 and 1923,* by Frank Richard Hall; *Planting the Church of the Disciples at Little Mackinaw,* by Emma Delle Railsback Darst; *The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln,* by William H. DeMotte; *Giant City State Park,* by J. G. Mulcaster; *William Davis Colby,* by Lydia Colby; and *Lindbergh's Visit to Springfield, Illinois, August 15, 1927.*

The *Michigan History Magazine* for April contains the following

articles and papers: *The Dismissal of President Tappan,* by Charles M. Perry; *The Clark School,* by Orlando W. Stephenson; *The Beginnings,* a pageant by William Chauncy Langdon; *An Early Visitor to Michigan,* by Velera Keller; *Grand Rapids Furniture Centennial,* by Arthur S. White; *The Automobile Industry in Michigan,* by Earl G. Fuller; *Little Journeys in Journalism,* by Wilbert H. Gustin and C. S. Thomas; a continuation of the *History of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs,* by Irma T. Jones; *The Folk of Our Town,* by Henry O. Severance; *Vanished Villages of Berrien County,* by L. Benj. Reber; *Old Trails of Central Michigan,* by Edmund A. Calkins; and *The Archaeological Collection in the Michigan Pioneer Museum,* by E. F. Greenman.

The March numbers of *El Palacio* contain several important articles on American archeology. The issue for March 31-April 7 has an interesting account of *Marvelous Acoma and its Craftsmen,* by Pedro J. Lemos. The number for April 14th carries the announcement of the summer session of the School of American Research and the University of New Mexico. *Notes on New Mexican Spanish,* by Cecil V. Romero, is the leading article in the issue for April 21, and *Some Notes on the Archaeology of the Navajo Country,* by Albert B. Reagan, is an important contribution in the number for May 5th. *Sexual Differences of Cranial and Facial Indices in Undeformed Pre-Historic Indian Skulls,* by E. B. Renaud, is a critical study in the double number for May 19-26.

Early Post Offices of Oklahoma, by Grant Foreman; *Fort Arbuckle,* by W. B. Morrison; *Ranching on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation,* by E. E. Dale; *The Work of the Early Choctaw Legislature,* by W. J. Fessler; *Colonel Forbis LeFlore, Pioneer and Statesman,* by Mrs. A. E. Perry; and a *Sketch of B. N. O. Walker,* by Mrs. C. C. Conlan, are the papers and articles in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* for March. The number for June includes: *Some Adventures of Captain Bonneville,* by Annie E. Ford; *Military Discipline in Early Oklahoma,* by Carolyn Thomas Foreman; the *Oklahoma Mineral Exhibit at the St. Louis World's Fair,* by Chas. N. Gould; a continuation of *Early Post Offices of Oklahoma,* by Grant Foreman; a continuation of *Some Reminiscences of the*

Cherokee People, by Wiley Britton; *Interesting Ante-Bellum Laws of the Cherokee Nation,* by James W. Duncan; *Naming of the Canadian River,* by Joseph B. Thoburn; and the *Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma,* by A. B. Thomas.

The *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for October, 1927, contains the following articles: *Fort Mandan, 1804–06,* by A. L. Truax and O. G. Libby; *A Buffalo Hunt,* taken from Boller's *Among the Indians;* and *Father George Antoine Belcourt, Red River Missionary,* by Vernice M. Aldrich. The number for January includes: *The Frontier Army on the Missouri River, 1860–1870,* by Raymond L. Welty; *Steamboating on the Red River of the North,* by Captain Fred A. Bill; a continuation of *The Sibley Trail,* by Dana Wright; and *Pioneer Days in North Dakota,* by Mrs. H. E. Crofford. *The Army Fort on the Frontier,* by Raymond L. Welty; *Natural History Notes on the Journals of Alexander Henry,* by Russell Reid and Clell G. Gannon; *Steamboating on the Red River,* by Captain Fred A. Bill; a *Biographical Sketch of Lyman K. Raymond,* by Vernice M. Aldrich; and a *Trip over the Plains of Dakota in 1865,* from the diary of Lyman K. Raymond, are the articles and papers in the April number.

The Reverberations of the Slavery Conflict in a Pioneer College, by Charles H. Rammelkamp; *The Influence of the Silver-Republican Senators, 1889–1891,* by Fred Wellborn; *Louis Kossuth's Appeal to the Middle West, 1852,* by John W. Oliver; and *The Grain Trade of New Orleans, 1804–1814,* by W. F. Galpin, are the articles in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March. Under *Documents* appear *Letters from a Civil War Officer,* edited by A. T. Volwiler. *Pardoning the Leaders of the Confederacy,* by J. T. Dorris; *The Cleavage within the Farmers' Alliance Movement,* by Herman Clarence Nixon; *River Navigation in the Early Southwest,* by Grant Foreman; *Efforts of Spain to Maintain Sources of Information in the British Colonies before 1779,* by Kathryn Abbey; and *The Rise of Methodism in the Middle West,* by Francis I. Moats, are the articles in the number for June. Under *Documents* appear: *Property of Jean Baptiste Point Sable;*

Captain Gordon's Views of the British Military Establishment in America; and the *Captivity of Peter Looney,* edited by M. M. Quaife.

IOWANA

A special edition of the *Marengo Pioneer-Republican* for March 29, 1928, contains a number of historical sketches about Marengo and Iowa County.

My First Years as a Boy, by James L. Hill, has been published by The Andover Press. Much of this volume recounts the boyhood experiences of the author in Iowa.

Historical Flashlights of Iowa, by Mrs. Louis B. Schmidt, is an interesting account of places of historic interest in the State, in *The Iowa Business Woman* for April.

The Story of Iowa A Children's History, by Thomas P. Christensen, has been published by the Holst Printing Company of Cedar Falls. A copy of this book has been presented by the author to the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Frank F. Fowle has an interesting account of the famous law suit, by which the steamboat interests tried to secure the destruction of the first bridge across the Mississippi River at Davenport, in *The N. E. L. A. Bulletin* for October, 1927.

The *Bulletin of the Okoboji Protective Association* for 1928 has recently been distributed. This is *Bulletin No. 24* of the Association and contains some two hundred pages of information about fish and game conservation in the Lake Okoboji region.

Col. John Sobieski, A Narrative of the Romantic Life of the Great Polish American, has been published as a pamphlet by Dillon H. Payne of Bloomfield. A copy of this sketch has been presented by the author to the State Historical Society of Iowa.

In the March number of *American Forests,* Mrs. Cora C. Whitley has a valuable article on *Trees as Memorials.* This article traces the growth of the idea of planting trees along memorial

highways or in groves and forests. Since the World War thousands of trees have been planted as memorials.

A List of Books and Pamphlets Written by Dubuquers, compiled by Eugene Harold Reilly, has been published in pamphlet form by the Columbia College Library at Dubuque. The Library has also published a booklet, *A Study of Four Outstanding Books of Christian Apologetics,* by I. J. Semper.

The Proceedings of the Iowa State Bar Association, a three hundred page record of the thirty-third annual session of the Association held at Iowa City on June 23 and 24, 1927, has recently been distributed. The volume was edited by J. R. McManus, secretary of the Association.

The *Traer Star-Clipper* for May 18, 1928, contains a number of articles of historical interest about Tama County and Traer. This number commemorated the golden anniversary of Elmer E. Taylor as a Traer publisher and the fortieth anniversary of Mrs. Taylor as editor of a "woman's department".

The classification of materials in the office of Governor and of Secretary of State under the general title *Iowa Public Archives* forms the principal contribution to the *Annals of Iowa* for April. This is a continuation of a series of articles on the public archives of Iowa by C. C. Stiles.

Kate Brainerd Rogers Her Life, Family and Friends, by Frances Louise Rogers, has been issued in booklet form at Hollywood, California. This is a charming story of a family that came to Iowa City in 1856. A copy of the booklet has been presented by the author to the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Under the title, *Berryman Jennings, the First School Teacher in Iowa,* Erik McKinley Eriksson has contributed another interesting article to the series on *Masons in the Building of Iowa* in the *Grand Lodge Bulletin, A. F. & A. M.,* for March, 1928. *Iowa Governors Who Were Masons* is an article of historical interest in the number for April.

Midland Schools for April continues its series of sketches of Iowa authors with the story of *Bess Streeter Aldrich*, by Lillian Lambert. In the May number John T. Frederick completes the series with short sketches of *Five Interpreters of Iowa* — J. G. Sigmund, Walter J. Muilenburg, Roger L. Sergel, Walter L. Meyers, and Nelson Antrim Crawford.

A special edition of the *Winterset News* for March 22, 1928, commemorated the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the paper and the fortieth anniversary under the ownership of Arthur Goshorn. The twenty-four pages carried interesting contrasts between Winterset of forty years ago and the city to-day. Two historical articles by Mr. Goshorn appear in this number.

The Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa has published under the title, *Public Archives A Manual for their Administration in Iowa,* the series of articles on the Public Archives which have appeared from time to time in the *Annals of Iowa.* Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department, wrote the introduction to the volume, while the discussion of the administration, classification, and use of the archives is the work of C. C. Stiles, Superintendent of the Division of Public Archives in the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa.

An attractive booklet, *Unveiling of the Bronze Memorial Tablet at the Little Brown Church Nashua, Iowa,* has been presented to the State Historical Society by the Reverend J. L. McCorison, Jr., pastor of the Congregational Church at Nashua and of the Little Brown Church in the Vale. The booklet contains the program and the presentation address of Mrs. Mary Fisher given on October 11, 1925, and a review of the beginnings of the Little Brown Church in the Vale. Another booklet, *The Little Brown Church in Story and in Song,* has also been presented to the Society by Reverend McCorison.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Aumann, F. R.,

The Des Moines Conciliation Court (Journal of the American Judicature Society, June, 1928).

Des Moines Tries the Conciliation Court (National Municipal Review, April, 1928).

Indian Oratory (The Palimpsest, April, 1928).

The Watchful Fox (The Palimpsest, April, 1928).

Where to with Criminal Equity? (American Law Review, May-June, 1928).

Beer, Thomas,

The Road to Heaven. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1928.

Brant, Irving,

Forest Lookouts Defy Lightning (Scientific American, June, 1928).

Briggs, John Ely,

The Council on the Iowa (The Palimpsest, April, 1928).

Calvert, Philip P.,

Report on Odonata, Including Notes on Some Internal Organs of the Larvae (University of Iowa Studies in Natural History, Vol. VII, No. 2). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1927.

Candell, A. N.,

Report on the Orthopteroid Insects (University of Iowa Studies in Natural History, Vol. XII, No. 3). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1927.

Catt, Mrs. Carrie Chapman,

Peace by Pledge (Woman's Journal, June, 1928).

Chamberlain, Clarence D.,

Record Flights. Philadelphia: Dorrance. 1928.

Childs, Marquis W.,

A Journey (The Midland, March-April, 1928).

Christensen, Kermit,

The Morphology of the Brain of Sphenodon (University of Iowa Studies in Natural History, Vol. XII, No. 1). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1927.

Clark, Glenn,
Fishers of Men. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1928.

Cook, Wayne G.,
Corrective Entries Nunc Pro Tunc (Iowa Law Review, April, June, 1928).

Crowell, Grace Noll,
Silver in the Sun (verse). Dallas, Texas: P. L. Turner Co. 1928.

Eriksson, E. M.,
Berryman Jennings, First Iowa School Teacher (Grand Lodge Bulletin, A. F. and A. M., March, 1928).

Flickinger, Roy C.,
On the Originality of Terence (Philological Quarterly, April, 1928).

Foster, John E.,
Why Teachers Should Travel (Midland Schools, May, 1928).

Fowle, Frank F.,
A Famous Interference Case (The N. E. L. A. Bulletin, October, 1927).

Frederick, Esther (Mrs. John T.),
Song (Stratford Magazine, April, 1928).

Frederick, John T.,
Five Interpreters of Iowa (Midland Schools, May, 1928).

Gard, Wayne,
The Storm Clouds Gather in India (Independent, April 7, 1928).

Glaspell, Susan,
Brook Evans. New York: Stokes. 1928.

Grahame, Russell C.,
Voyages of the Black Hawk (The Palimpsest, May, 1928).

Greenlief, Irwin W.,
Fishermen (The Tanager, May, 1928).

Hall, James Norman,
Mid-Pacific. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928.
Year after Year (poem) (The Tanager, July, 1928).

Hopkins, John A., Jr.,
Economic History of the Production of Beef Cattle in Iowa. (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, April, 1928).

Horack, Frank E.,
The Banking Clauses in the Constitution in Iowa (Iowa Law Review, April, 1928).

Hughes, Rupert,
The Lonely Ducklings. New York: Harper. 1928.

Jorgensen, A. N.,
Iowa Silent Reading Examinations (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. IV, No. 3). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1927.

Keyhoe, Donald E.,
Flying with Lindbergh (The Saturday Evening Post, May 19, June 2, 1928).

Kluckhohn, Clyde,
To the Foot of the Rainbow. New York: Century Company. 1928.

Koop, Theodore F.,
Bowen's Prairie (The Palimpsest, June, 1928).

Kopp, Clara,
The Amaryllis Show in Washington (National Republic, May, 1928).

Kresensky, Raymond,
No Use Now (poem) (New Masses, March, 1928).

Lambert, Lillian,
Bess Streeter Aldrich (Midland Schools, April, 1928).

Le Cron, Helen Cowles,
Bread and Butter Books (Better Homes and Gardens, May, 1928).

Some Favorite Family Books (Better Homes and Gardens, June, 1928).

Leh, L. L.,
Christianity Reborn. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1928.

Leonard, L. O.,
The Canals of Illinois (Rock Island Magazine, June, 1928).
Dan Hill, Retired Engineer, Reflects on Early Days (Rock Island Magazine, March, 1928).

Lichtenstein, Vernon,
A Morning in June (The Midland, May-June, 1928).

Lingelbach, Annetta M.,
Ear-Training the Child on His Own Pieces (Etude, March, 1928).
Finale (Etude, June, 1928).
His Own Musician (Etude, February, 1928).
Interlude — Tea-Time (Etude, May, 1928).
The Little Queen (Etude, February, 1928).
Prelude — A Satisfied Piano (Etude, April, 1928).

Manry, James C.,
World Citizenship (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. I, No. 1). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1927.

McNeely, Marian Hurd,
Wealth (St. Nicholas, April, 1928).

May, Stella Burke,
Chico, The Circus Cherub. New York: D. Appleton. 1928.

Meyer, Marie E.,
Nicholas Fejervary (The Palimpsest, June, 1928).

Moats, Francis I.,
The Rise of Methodism in the Middle West (The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, June, 1928).

Newmann, G. J.,
Four Poems (The Midland, March-April, 1928).

Perkins, Rollin M.,
The Trial Information in Iowa (Iowa Law Review, April, 1928).

Ruckmick, Christian Alban,
The Mental Life. New York: Longmans. 1928.

Ruggles, Clyde O.,
Relationship between Departments of Economics and Collegiate Schools of Business (American Economic Review, March, 1928).

Sabin, Edwin Legrand,
Rio Bravo. New York: Burt. 1928.

Samuelson, Agnes,
A Course of Study for Elementary Schools (Midland Schools, May, 1928).

Schmidt, Mrs. Louis B.,
Historical Flashlights of Iowa (The Iowa Business Woman, April, 1928).

Spaulding, E. Leslie,
Soiree Noire (Stratford Magazine, April, 1928).
Suicide (Stratford Magazine, April, 1928).

Starbuck, Edwin D., and others,
A Guide to Literature for Character Training. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1928.

Stefansson, Vilhjalmur,
Standardization of Error. New York: Norton. 1928.

Stewart, James McCauley,
Rules of Court in Iowa (Iowa Law Review, June, 1928).

Stoddard, G. D.,
Mental-educational Survey of Iowa Junior Colleges (School Review, May, 1928).

Stoltz, Ruth M.,
The Aristocrat (The Midland, May-June, 1928).

Suckow, Ruth,
Spinster and Cat (Harper's Magazine, June, 1928).

Sweet, Oney Fred,
One of the Kaybow Boys (People's Popular Monthly, April, 1928).

Thane, Elswyth,
His Elizabeth. New York: Stokes.

Towner, Harriet Elizabeth,
Government House, Porto Rico (Pan American Magazine, March, 1928).

Updegraff, Clarence Milton,
The Extension of Federal Regulation (Iowa Law Review, June, 1928).

Volz, E. C.,
Home Flower-growing. New York: Macmillan. 1928.

Weeks, Raymond,
The Hound of Callaway. New York: Columbia University Press. 1928.

Welty, Raymond L.,
The Army Fort of the Frontier (North Dakota Historical Quarterly, April, 1928).
The Frontier Army on the Missouri River, 1860–1870 (North Dakota Historical Quarterly, January, 1928).

Whitley, Cora C.,
Trees as Memorials (American Forests, March, 1928).

Wilson, Henry L.,
The Muse Plays Chess (The Midland, May-June, 1928).

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

A history of Richland Township, by W. W. Spurgeon, in the *Ottumwa Courier,* February 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25,

27, 28, 29, March 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 1928.

Pioneer politics by M. W. Cook, in the *Oxford Leader,* February 16, 1928.

Early days at Wheatland, in the *Davenport Times,* February 18, 1928.

The James boys and Quantrell — some forgotten history, by C. E. Worthington, in the *Burlington Post,* February 18, March 10, April 7, 14, 28, 1928.

The old shingle mill at Adel, in the *Dallas County News,* February 22, 1928.

History of Chickasaw County, by J. H. Powers, in the *Nashua Reporter,* February 22, March 7, 14, 21, April 4, 11, 18, May 2, 9, 16, 1928.

Pioneer days in Iowa, by G. W. Wood, in the *Waterloo Tribune,* February 25, 1928.

Dental work in pioneer days, by G. C. Moorehead, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record,* March 1, 1928.

Early history of Wyoming first known as Marshfield, in the *Davenport Times,* March 1, 1928.

Charles Peck, stage coach driver, by Florence Clark, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette and Republican,* and the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal,* March 4, 1928.

Early history of Washington County, by Irving Keck, in the *Washington Journal,* March 5, 21, 24, April 7, 13, 27, 28, May 12, 1928.

Early days on Scotch Ridge, by W. C. Hastie, in the *Indianola Tribune,* March 6, 1928.

Some social conditions in Madison County in the early sixties, by W. H. Lewis, in the *Winterset Madisonian,* March 8, 1928.

Early life in Emmet County, by B. K. Rokne, in the *Grinnell Herald,* March 8, 1928.

Medical practice in pioneer days, by G. C. Moorehead, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record,* March 8, 1928.

How Clay County got its name, by H. S. Jones, reprinted from the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* in the *Spencer News,* March 8, 1928.

Early days at Sand Spring, in the *Hopkinton Leader,* March 8, 1928.

Grinnell in 1854, in the *Grinnell Herald,* March 12, 1928.

Some old Civil War letters, in the *Newton News,* March 14, 1928.

Pioneer fun, in the *Centerville Iowegian,* March 14, 1928.

Early history of La Porte City, by Jesse Wasson, in the *La Porte City Progress-Review,* March 14, April 5, 12, 26, 1928.

Ida County banking history, by G. C. Moorehead, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record,* March 15, 1928.

The treaty with the Sac and Fox tribes, by Jasper Blines, reprinted from the *Burlington Post,* in the *Keokuk Citizen,* March 16, 1928.

How Humboldt County got its name, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* March 19, 1928.

An abandoned mine near Rippey, in the *Jefferson Bee,* March 21, 1928.

History of the first Methodist Episcopal church in Sac City, by S. M. Stouffer, in the *Sac City Sun,* March 22, 1928.

The story of the *Winterset News,* by Arthur Goshorn, in the *Winterset News,* March 22, 1928.

School history of Ida Grove, by G. C. Moorehead, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record,* March 22, 1928.

The Spirit Lake massacre, in the *Webster City Journal,* the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* and the *Waterloo Courier,* March

23, 1928, the *Newton News,* the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal,* March 24, 1928, the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* March 25, 1928, the *Creston Advertiser,* March 26, 1928, and the *Ottumwa Courier,* March 28, 1928.

Reminiscences of Frank Clarkson, in the *Des Moines Register,* March 25, April 1, 8, 1928.

Historical articles about Marengo and Iowa County, in the *Marengo Pioneer-Republican,* March 29, 1928.

History of the town of Arthur, by G. C. Moorehead, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record,* March 29, 1928.

Life in Winterset in the early fifties, in the *Winterset Madisonian,* March 29, 1928.

How Lee County got its name, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* March 29, 1928.

The early history of Gowrie, in the *Gowrie News,* March 29, 1928.

Facts about the early history of Washington, in the *Washington Journal,* March 31, 1928.

How Louisa County got its name, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* March 31, 1928.

Political meetings fifty years ago, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger,* March 31, 1928.

The Mormon Trail, in the *Centerville Iowegian,* March 31, 1928.

A guerilla raid into Iowa during the Civil War, by Walter Davis, in the *Des Moines Register,* April 1, 1928.

Nashua in the sixties, in the *Nashua Reporter,* April 4, 1928.

Iowa in 1855, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal,* April 4, 1928.

History of the town of Galva, by G. C. Moorehead, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record,* April 5, 1928.

Thrills of pioneer days, by Daniel M. Parker, in the *West Union Gazette,* April 5, 1928.

Memoirs of Captain Sam. R. Van Sant, in the *Burlington Post,* April 7, 1928.

The old trading post in Cedar County, in the *Davenport Times,* April 10, 1928.

Early history of Battle Creek, by G. C. Moorehead, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record,* April 12, 1928.

Traces of Algonkian culture give hint of prehistoric Iowa, by John C. Hartman, in the *Waterloo Courier,* April 14, 1928.

An Indian battle in Butler County, by John C. Hartman, in the *Waterloo Courier,* April 16, 1928.

How Pilot Rock was named, in the *Cherokee Times,* April 16, 1928.

Early days in Wapello, by R. E. Barr, in the *Wapello Republican,* April 19, 1928.

How Pottawattamie County got its name, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* April 19, 1928.

Rippey and Washington Township, Greene County, in other days, in the *Jefferson Bee,* April 25, 1928.

Early days at Nashua, by Art Watts, in the *Nashua Reporter,* April 25, 1928.

Pioneer settlers on Silver Creek, Ida County, by G. C. Moorehead, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record,* April 26, 1928.

Early history of Osceola County, in the *Ashton Leader,* April 26, May 3, 10, 24, June 8, 14, 1928.

A letter from the Mexican War, in the *Keokuk Citizen,* April 27, 1928.

The Mesquakies, in the *Des Moines Register,* April 27, 1928.

Early history of the town of Andrew, in the *Clinton Herald,* May 1, 1928.

How Van Buren County got its name, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* May 2, 1928.

A bit of political history, by Ed. M. Smith, in the *Winterset Madisonian,* May 3, 1928.

A blizzard in 1872, in the *Ashton Leader,* May 3, 1928.

The story of old La Grange, in the *Russell Union,* May 3, 1928.

History of the Baptist church in Grinnell, in the *Grinnell Herald,* May 4, 1928.

Old Bradford Academy, in the *Nashua Reporter,* May 9, 1928.

Weddings in the sixties, in the *Jefferson Bee,* May 9, 1928.

The town of Holland fifty years ago, in the *Grundy Register,* May 10, 1928.

Early days at La Porte City, in the *La Porte City Progress-Review,* May 10, 17, June 7, 1928.

The history of Tama, in the *Toledo Chronicle,* May 10, 1928.

Early Wayne County history, in the *Humeston New Era,* May 16, 1928.

How Tama County was created, in the *Traer Star-Clipper,* May 18, 1928.

The founding of Traer, in the *Traer Star-Clipper,* May 18, 1928.

How Fayette County got its name, in the *Fayette Leader,* May 17, 1928.

Some northwestern Iowa history, by Mrs. F. W. Knight, in the *Humboldt Republican,* May 23, 1928.

Historical sketch of Fort Atkinson, in the *Ossian Bee,* May 24, 1928.

A storm on July 4, 1876, by Arthur Goshorn, in the *Winterset News,* May 24, 1928.

A soldier-fireman riot in Keokuk in 1861, in the *Keokuk Citizen,* May 25, 1928.

Tranquillity settlement in Tama County, by Ella C. Taylor, re-

printed from the *Traer Star-Clipper* in the *Des Moines Register,* May 27, 1928.

Recollections of county seats and Hardin County courthouses, by John T. Boylan, in the *Eldora Herald,* May 31, 1928.

Life at Newell in the eighties, in the *Newell Mirror,* May 31, 1928.

Some early history about Eldora, by John T. Boylan, in the *Eldora Ledger,* May 31, June 7, 14, 1928.

Early settlements at Odebolt and Pleasant Valley, by G. C. Moorehead, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record,* May 31, 1928.

When baseball was a novelty, in the *Keokuk Citizen,* June 1, 1928.

The founding of Delaware, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal,* June 1, 1928.

Historical attractions in northeastern Iowa, by Mr. and Mrs. W. Beall, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* June 2, 1928, the *Cedar Rapids Gazette-Republican,* June 3, 1928, the *West Union Gazette,* June 6, 1928.

Beginnings of Cherokee County, by M. E. Hinkley, in the *Cherokee Times,* June 4, 1928.

School history of Lisbon, in the *Mount Vernon Record,* June 7, 1928.

Historical sketch of Soldier Valley and Grant Township, Ida County, by G. C. Moorehead, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record,* June 7, 1928.

Tales from Mason City's past, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* June 11, 1928.

History of the Osage library, in the *Osage Press,* June 13, 1928.

Early history of masonry in Hardin County, by John T. Boylan, in the *Eldora Herald,* June 14, 1928.

The first State normal school, in the *Iowa Falls Citizen,* June 14, 1928.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The School of American Research and the University of New Mexico will hold their annual summer school sessions from June 5th to July 28th. Courses will be given in Archeology, Anthropology, Art, and History. The regular sessions will be held at the University in Albuquerque while the field school will be on the Pajarito Plateau, thirty miles west of Santa Fe, from August 4th to 31st.

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held its annual meeting in Detroit on April 12th in honor of the centennial of the founding of the first historical society in Michigan at Detroit in 1828. Professor Louis C. Karpenski of the University of Michigan gave an address dealing with his experiences during a recent trip to Europe in search of manuscript maps of America in France, Spain, and Portugal.

The thirty-first annual meeting of the Texas State Historical Association was held at Austin, Texas, on April 11, 12, 1928. The program included a series of lectures on "The Beginnings of the Texas Revolution", by Eugene C. Barker; a paper on "The Seminole Indian Scouts", by Frost Woodhull, and J. M. Slator, Jr.; a sketch of "Sam P. Carson", by S. E. Asbury; a paper on "The Beginnings of the Association", by Mrs. Bride Neill Taylor; a paper on "West Texas Droughts", by W. C. Holden; and one on "Santa Anna as Seen by His Secretary", by Carlos E. Castañeda.

Two meetings important from the standpoint of history and prehistory were held at Beloit, Wisconsin, the first week in March, 1928. The National Research Council Committee on State Archeological Surveys met on March 1st and 2nd, and the Central Section of the American Anthropological Association held its annual meeting on March 2nd and 3rd. These meetings were held at the invitation of Beloit College, and the visiting members were guests of this institution. Dr. Charles R. Keyes, Director of the State

Archeological Survey for the State Historical Society of Iowa, reported upon the progress of the survey in this State. Dr. Carl E. Guthe of the University of Michigan was elected president of the Central Section of the American Anthropological Association and George R. Fox of the Warren Foundation was reëlected secretary-treasurer.

The Minnesota Historical Society held its seventh State historical convention at Brainerd, Minnesota, on June 13 and 14, 1928. A tour from St. Paul to Brainerd by way of the site of old Fort Ripley preceded the convention. Two Iowa men contributed to the program. William J. Peterson, a graduate student in history at the State University of Iowa, read a paper on "The 'Virginia', the 'Clermont' of the Upper Mississippi River". Irving H. Hart, Director of the Extension Division of the Iowa State Teachers College at Cedar Falls, read a paper on "The Story of Beengwa, Daughter of a Chippewa Warrior". Papers on various phases of Minnesota history, and an exhibition of songs, dances, and games by a group of Chippewa Indians made up a program of unusual interest.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its twenty-first annual meeting at Des Moines on April 26 to 28, 1928. The local committee, headed by O. B. Clark of Drake University as chairman, and Curator E. R. Harlan of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department as secretary, had made careful arrangements and the result was a successful meeting in every respect. The program centered around the work of State historical agencies, the "Early West", the "Middle Border", and the "Last Frontier". "Perils of the Historian" was the theme of the history teachers' section. Entertainment features included luncheons and dinners, a sightseeing trip about Des Moines, a reception by the Historical, Memorial and Art Department assisted by a group of Meskwaki Indians, and the Drake Relays. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Superintendent; Bruce E. Mahan, Associate Editor; J. A. Swisher, Research Associate; John E. Briggs, Editor of *The Palimpsest*; and Dorothy Schaffter and F. R. Aumann of the research staff represented the State Historical Society of Iowa at this meeting.

IOWA

The Dubuque Historical and Memorial Association at a regular meeting held on May 25th recommended that steps be taken to insure the commemoration of the centennial of the Black Hawk purchase.

At the fourth annual meeting of the Howard County Historical Society held at Cresco on March 12th, the following officers were elected: C. J. Harlan, president; Miss Lauraine Mead, vice president; Mrs. Alma Glass, secretary; J. H. Howe, treasurer; Mrs. C. E. Farnsworth, curator; T. J. Gibbons, custodian and member of the board of directors. Other directors selected were Frank A. Miller, Mrs. Charles Meyers, and Mrs. J. Q. Rowley.

At the annual meeting of the Marshall County Historical Society, held at the courthouse in Marshalltown on March 13th, the following officers were chosen: Frank G. Pierce, president; Albert Beane, vice president; Miss Susie Sower, secretary; Mrs. Minnie Pendleton, treasurer; Mrs. Annie Sellers, curator. The directors are Reverend L. W. Harper, Mrs. E. M. Singleton, Mrs. Minnie Pendleton, Miss Ella Mace, Mrs. Annie Sellers, Mrs. Emily Sellers, Miss Kate Moore, and Albert Beane.

Articles of incorporation of the Iowa Catholic Historical Society were filed with the county recorder of Dubuque County on March 24th. The purpose of the society is to promote and further interest in religious, moral, educational, scientific, benevolent, and fraternal matters. Officers of the organization have been named as follows: president, Most Reverend James J. Keane; secretary, Reverend M. M. Hoffman; treasurer, Reverend L. Kuenzel; Curator, Reverend F. Mullin.

The Research Club of Centerville in coöperation with the Drake Public Library sponsored an historical week for Appanoose County beginning on May 6th. An interesting exhibit of historical materials was placed on display at the library. Partly as a result of the interest aroused by this project an Appanoose County Historical Society has been organized with the following temporary

officers: president, Carrie Theon; vice president, W. E. Elgin; secretary-treasurer, Sara Ritchel. A constitution and by-laws has been adopted and more than fifty members have joined the society.

The annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held at the courthouse in Winterset on the afternoon of March 6, 1928. This meeting commemorated the twenty-fourth anniversary of the founding of the society. Short talks were made by Judge W. S. Cooper and John A. Guiher. W. F. Craig read a paper, "Early Social Conditions in Madison County", which had been written by Judge W. H. Lewis. The following officers were elected for 1928: H. A. Mueller, president; Charles McMillan, vice president; E. R. Zeller, secretary; Agnes McNamara, treasurer; Pearl Drennan, W. J. Cornell, C. R. Peters, and H. G. Tidrick, members of the executive committee.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Miss Helen Wylie has resigned her position as Library Assistant in the State Historical Society and Miss Ramona Evans has been selected to fill the vacancy.

J. A. Swisher, Research Associate of the State Historical Society, gave an address on the pioneers at Guttenberg on May 24th, at East Lynn, Illinois, on May 29th, and at Wellington, Illinois, on May 31st.

The Economic History of Beef Cattle Production in Iowa, by John A. Hopkins, Jr., has been reprinted from THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS in a limited edition of six hundred copies for library distribution.

Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave an address on the history and purpose of the Commonwealth Conference before the Public Affairs Department of the Des Moines Women's Club on April 4, 1928.

The State Historical Society of Iowa in coöperation with the State University of Iowa will soon publish a volume by Thomas Huston Macbride entitled *In Cabins and Sod-Houses*. This is a

fascinating volume of word pictures of places, persons, and events in a pioneer community in Iowa. The book will be ready for distribution in the fall.

Bruce E. Mahan, Associate Editor of the State Historical Society, gave an address on selected topics in Iowa history at Garwin on May 24th, at Bedford on May 25th, and at West Union on June 1st. On June 28th, Mr. Mahan gave a pageant-recital, "The Story of the Indian", before the Quota Club convention at Davenport.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. C. D. Allan, Waterloo, Iowa; Mr. A. D. Annis, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mrs. R. P. Atwell, Fort Dodge, Iowa; Mr. Frank Bechly, Montezuma, Iowa; Mr. Louis G. Bein, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Lester C. Bissell, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. Louis Block, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Arthur H. Brayton, Des Moines, Iowa; Dr. C. W. Brown, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. H. C. Brown, Bloomfield, Iowa; Mr. J. D. Brownson, Monona, Iowa; Mr. B. F. Carroll, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. W. W. Chambreau, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Elizabeth C. Chase, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mrs. Mary A. Bellatti Cheney, Emerson, Iowa; Mr. C. Ernest Clarke, Davenport, Iowa; Mrs. Chas. W. Cloughly, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mr. Walter Condran, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Charles S. Denman, Des Moines, Iowa; Rev. J. D. Dykstra, Orange City, Iowa; Dr. W. J. Egloff, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. Frank W. Ellis, Clinton, Iowa; Mrs. Folsom Everest, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. W. O. Finkbine, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. John S. Gebuhr, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. E. E. Gingles, Sloan, Iowa; Mr. Frank E. Green, Story City, Iowa; Mr. J. A. Gunn, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. F. L. Holleran, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. J. C. Hospers, Sheldon, Iowa; Mr. Royal B. Hovey, Independence, Iowa; Miss Edna Hyde, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mr. Frank W. Jones, Anamosa, Iowa; Mr. T. W. Kriechbaum, Burlington, Iowa; Mr. Walter Large, New York City; Mrs. L. E. Lewis, West Liberty, Iowa; Mr. A. H. McClun, West Liberty, Iowa; Mr. H. C. Moore, Bloomfield, Iowa; Mr. H. E. Morrow, Monona, Iowa; Mr. LeRoy C. Nefzger, Spencer, Iowa; Mr. George M. Paradise, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. Willis Patrick, Emerson, Iowa; Mr. Robert P. Redfield, Daven-

port, Iowa; Mr. Elmer L. Ritter, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mr. G. D. Rose, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. D. L. Ross, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. S. W. Sanford, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Ed. M. Smith, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. O. E. Smith, Spirit Lake, Iowa; Mrs. Geo. A. Spooner, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. Wilbert D. Sweesy, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. J. R. Thorngren, Boone, Iowa; Mr. E. D. Verink, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. R. A. White, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Chas. E. Wilson, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. O. H. Allbee, Marshalltown, Iowa; Miss Minnie F. Beenk, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Miss Alma Cunda, Iowa Falls, Iowa; Mr. Frank W. Douma, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. E. C. Finkbine, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. George Innes, Bettendorf, Iowa; Mr. Geo. E. Lichty, Waterloo, Iowa; Mr. Frank L. Loring, Dallas Center, Iowa; Rt. Rev. Thomas J. McCarty, Sioux City, Iowa; Msgr. F. P. McManus, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. P. J. Mills, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Grace Neff, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. Frank T. Nye, Shenandoah, Iowa; Mr. E. A. Owens, Carlisle, Iowa; Mr. E. A. Robb, Carroll, Iowa; Mr. Henry P. Rohlman, Davenport, Iowa; Miss Blanche A. Sherman, Monona, Iowa; Mr. W. G. Strack, Grundy Center, Iowa; Mr. L. F. Sutton, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. Vernon L. Treynor, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. James J. Deegan, Le Mars, Iowa; Mr. G. Decker French, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. C. M. Hidding, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mrs. Claude L. Shepard, Corydon, Iowa; Mr. W. A. Watts, Des Moines, Iowa, and Mr. J. F. Wrage, Gladbrook, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Clarinda celebrated its diamond jubilee anniversary on June 22nd. A "Panorama of Progress" consisting of floats represented the Clarinda of yesterday and to-day. Window displays of historic relics attracted much attention.

Marshalltown is planning to celebrate its seventy-fifth anniversary with an historical pageant and other appropriate ceremonies sometime in October. The Historical Society of Marshall County is taking a leading part in the formulation of plans for this celebration.

On the evenings of June 15th and 16th citizens of Hancock County presented an historical pageant at the fair grounds at Britt. The pageant covered the history of the county from the days when it was an Indian hunting ground down to and through the World War period.

The Diamond Jubilee of the Pleasant Grove Presbyterian Church at Littleton was observed with appropriate ceremonies on June 3, 1928. This church was organized on June 4, 1853, by James Fullerton, a pioneer minister of Marion.

On June 14, 1928, the Nancy McKay Harsh Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution at Creston dedicated a marker at Mt. Pisgah, the site of the Mormon settlement in Union County. Following this ceremony the chapter unveiled a tablet at the Graceland Cemetery in Creston at the grave of Nancy McKay Harsh, a real daughter of the American Revolution.

With appropriate ceremonies Chapter L of the P. E. O. Society at Sigourney unveiled a portrait of Nancy Torrence Stockman in the P. E. O. Memorial Library at Mount Pleasant on June 10, 1928. Mrs. Stockman was chairman of the committee which established the official organ of the Society, the *P. E. O. Record,* forty years ago.

The Cedar County Old Settlers Association held its annual meeting at the court room in Tipton on the afternoon of June 9, 1928. W. H. Phelps was elected president for the new year; H. L. Huber, vice president; and W. H. Franco, secretary. The new executive committee consists of Mearl Clark, H. R. Ripley, C. S. Neiman, and Jacob Stout. The Reverend W. E. Van Buren of Tipton gave the principal address of the afternoon.

Mason City celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary from June 17 to 20 with a program of many types of attractions. Of special historical interest was the parade of some one hundred and fifty floats depicting events from the landing of Columbus to the present day. The *Mason City Globe-Gazette* for June 16th published a special anniversary edition of one hundred and eight pages. This number of the *Globe-Gazette* contains a wealth of historical information about Mason City and vicinity.

A memorial to the late Senator Willis G. Haskell has been erected in a triangular park in Johnson Avenue, Cedar Rapids. On a large native boulder a bronze tablet has been placed bearing the following inscription: "To the Memory of Willis G. Haskell, Who, as a Private Citizen and a State Senator for Many Years and Until His Death Was an Ardent Worker for the Improvement of the Lincoln Highway and All Public Thoroughfares in the State of Iowa, This Marker is Erected. June 5, 1857. April 17, 1917."

On May 11, 1928, the citizens of Rippey, Iowa, honored B. F. Osborn who had been a prominent merchant and a leader in that community for fifty years. An attractive booklet with the title, *Osborn Golden Anniversary Day 1878–1928,* was issued for the occasion. This booklet contained a brief biographical sketch of Mr. Osborn and the program presented in his honor. Short talks were given by V. H. Lovejoy and E. G. Graham of Jefferson, Iowa, and by Edgar R. Harlan and Mrs. John MacVicar of Des Moines. John MacVicar and Harvey Ingham of Des Moines gave the principal addresses of the occasion.

CONTRIBUTORS

Thomas P. Christensen, Professor of History at the Southeast Missouri State Teacher's College, Cape Girardeau, Missouri. (See The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for January, 1926, p. 168.)

John Abel Hopkins, Jr., Associate Professor of Agricultural Economics at Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa. (See The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for January, 1928, p. 168.)

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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS
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POLITICAL TRENDS IN IOWA HISTORY

[The following paper was read by the author at the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held at Des Moines, April 26–28, 1928.— THE EDITOR]

The political history of Iowa may be divided, rather roughly, into three periods. The first period, that of the Territorial and early Statehood times, was one of domination by the Democratic party. The second, from the middle of the fifties to the end of the nineteenth century, was one of almost uninterrupted Republican supremacy, accompanied by numerous third party movements. The third, from 1902 to the present time, might be designated as one of insurgency, progressivism, and so-called radicalism, coming largely from within the ranks of the Republican party. In this paper an attempt is made to consider briefly each of these periods.

Early Iowa like early Indiana and Illinois was in a measure a child of the South. It was originally colonized to a considerable extent by people from the southern States and of southern extraction who found their way up the Mississippi and thence up the various tributary streams where they settled in the timber areas.[1] Thus populated and organized as a Territory under the influence of Jacksonian democracy, Iowa throughout her Territorial and early Statehood periods was under the domination of the Democratic party.[2] The first of her Territorial Governors was

[1] Herriott's *Whence Came the Pioneers of Iowa?* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VII, pp. 367–379, 446–465; Quick's *One Man's Life*, pp. 67, 68.

[2] Pelzer's *The Early Democratic Party in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, p. 179.

Robert Lucas, Democrat, a native of Virginia, a former Governor of Ohio, and a Van Buren appointment. The second was John Chambers, a Kentucky Whig, appointed by Harrison, but the Democrats continued in control of the Territorial legislature. The third, James Clarke, was a Democrat, appointed by Polk. In the convention which framed the Constitution of 1846 there were twenty-two Democrats and ten Whigs. This document with its anti-corporation, anti-bank provisions met with opposition at the hands of the Whigs, who had no desire to see Iowa admitted into the Union under any such Jacksonian instrument.[3] In the presidential elections of 1848 and 1852 the electoral vote of Iowa was given to the Democratic candidates for president, Lewis Cass and Franklin Pierce, respectively. The Free Soil vote was negligible.

The first two Governors of the State were Democrats, likewise were her first two senators, Augustus C. Dodge, a native of Missouri, and George W. Jones, whose birthplace was Vincennes, Indiana. The former boastingly declared "Iowa is the only free State which never for a moment gave way to the Wilmot-proviso. My colleague voted for every one of the compromise measures in all their phases, stages, and conditions including the fugitive slave law, the late Senator Sturgeon of Pennsylvania and ourselves being the only three Senators from the entire non-slave holding section of the Union who voted for it."[4]

Southern leanings though he might have, Senator Dodge's chief interest was in the West and its future development. Thus he became an ardent champion in the early fifties of the homestead idea and of a railway to the Pacific. The former he favored because as he declared he was familiar with the dangers, hardships, and difficulties, incident to the

[3] Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, pp. 292, 303.

[4] *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, p. 382.

settlement of the public domain.[5] The latter he advocated because of the need of binding the Pacific coast to the East, "lest we must in the lapse of time see the God Terminus driven back from his present ocean boundary, and seated upon those mountains beyond which it was once thought he ought not have been removed."[6]

It will be recalled that it was this same senator, who as chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, introduced in December, 1853, the bill for the organization of the Nebraska country, and readily accepted the substitute bill introduced by Douglas the following month. In common with Douglas it was the belief of Dodge that neither Kansas nor Nebraska would become slave under the operation of popular sovereignty. Few slave owners would go there. Those that did would after a few years free their slaves.[7] It was the voice of the West, impatient over delay, speaking when Dodge proclaimed, "Would you bring Tecumseh and Pontiac with their followers to the banks of the Wabash or Detroit Rivers? Would you recall Black Hawk and Keokuk, with their once powerful and confederated tribes to Iowa? No, sir, no you would not do any of these things and yet to stay the car of progress there are those who would fain clog its wheels with somber and imaginary histories of Indian wrongs and Indian sufferings."[8]

Both Iowa senators voted for the Kansas-Nebraska bill. This marked the beginning of the end of Democratic rule in Iowa. A great wave of immigration from the States of the North, and to a lesser degree from Europe, changed Iowa in the course of the decade, 1850–1860, from a southern State into a northern State. These new settlers came by the

[5] *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, Appendix, p. 202.

[6] *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, 2nd Session, Appendix, p. 235.

[7] *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, p. 381.

[8] *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, p. 382.

thousands, attracted by the fertility of the wonderful Iowa prairies, that "Land of Nevermore". Three railroads, the Rock Island, the Northwestern, and the Burlington reached the Mississippi from the East in 1854, 1855, and 1856 respectively. The ferries at McGregor, Dubuque, Davenport, Burlington, and Keokuk found it difficult to take care of the endless stream of immigrants that desired to cross the Mississippi into Iowa during these years. Already the slow advance of the railway across the State had started. The gain in population for the decade was over two hundred and fifty per cent which was the largest percentage of any State east of the Rocky Mountains save Minnesota.[9] The actual gain was 482,699, nearly three times that of Minnesota with a gain of 165,946. Among those who joined the great procession to Iowa in the fifties were many who were destined to play a prominent part in State and national politics during the next half century. William B. Allison came from Ohio, William Larrabee from Connecticut, the Clarksons from Brookville, Indiana, and James B. Wilson and David B. Henderson from Scotland. In this period, too, came the Quaker ancestors of Herbert Hoover from Ohio, grandfather and father, to Cedar County in search of cheaper land.[10] Here Herbert Hoover was born some twenty years later. The parents of Herbert Quick came to Grundy County in 1857 driving an ox team from Wisconsin.[11]

In 1854 the Whigs of Iowa nominated James W. Grimes, a native of New Hampshire and a graduate of Dartmouth, for Governor. Grimes waged a vigorous campaign declaring that he would "war continually against the abandonment to slavery of a foot of soil now consecrated to

[9] *Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860, p. 156.

[10] Lane's *The Making of Herbert Hoover*, pp. 9–15.

[11] Quick's *One Man's Life*, Ch. V.

freedom."[12] But he did not rest his case solely on the doctrine of slavery restriction. A program calling for banks, internal improvements, homestead legislation, and the establishment of a real system of public schools was announced. Such a program was one which would make a special appeal to a young and growing western State. Grimes was elected by a majority of about 2500 votes.

The election of Grimes attracted much attention outside of Iowa. Chase congratulated him for having the credit of fighting the best battle for freedom yet fought and later wrote, "Your election was the morning star."[13] In his inaugural address the new Governor recommended a great extension of the powers of the government in various fields. Turning from State to national issues he declared in the following oft quoted words, "It becomes the state of Iowa, the only free child of the Missouri Compromise, to let the world know that she values the blessings that Compromise has secured to her, and that she will never consent to become a party to the nationalization of slavery."[14]

Governor Grimes's administration was a notable one. A new constitution was adopted in 1857, repealing the anti-corporation and anti-bank provisions of the Constitution of 1846. The capital of the State was removed from Iowa City to Des Moines the same year. A State bank was established and educational reforms were begun. The construction of railroads across the Iowa prairies was encouraged. The long sought land grants for railroads were obtained from Congress and immediately accepted by the State. Although the railroads were not completed to the

[12] Cole's *A History of the People of Iowa*, p. 270.

[13] Rhodes's *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, Vol. II, p. 15.

[14] Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, pp. 5–14.

western border for ten years or more, Grimes won the title "The great Missouri River opener."[15]

The change in political affairs was further shown in 1855 by the election of James Harlan, a native of Indiana and a graduate of Asbury College, now De Pauw University, to succeed Senator Dodge. Though chosen as a Whig, Harlan is known as the first Republican senator from Iowa.[16] Save for a brief interval, when he held the office of Secretary of Interior under Lincoln and Johnson, he remained in the Senate until he was defeated by William B. Allison in 1873 in one of the most bitter personal campaigns in the history of Iowa.[17] The victories of Grimes in 1854 and Harlan in 1855 were the preludes to the birth of the Republican party in Iowa. The movement toward the definite organization of a new party proceeded more slowly here than in Michigan and Wisconsin where the New England and Free Soil influences were more pronounced. A call, attributed to Governor Grimes, was issued early in January, 1856, "to the citizens of Iowa" to meet in convention at Iowa City on the 22nd day of February, 1856, for the purpose of organizing a Republican party. At this convention the Republican party in Iowa was launched. Here, as elsewhere, the new party was a coalition including Whigs, Democrats, and Free Soilers. Prominent among those present at the Iowa City convention was Samuel J. Kirkwood, a miller from nearby and a former Ohio Democrat, who was to become Iowa's war Governor and later Secretary of Interior under Garfield. The part taken by Grimes in the movement gave him the title of "the Father of Republicanism" in Iowa.[18]

[15] Cole's *A History of the People of Iowa,* Ch. XLVI.

[16] Clark's *Senatorial Elections in Iowa,* Ch. III.

[17] Clark's *Senatorial Elections in Iowa,* Ch. X.

[18] Pelzer's *The Origin and Organization of the Republican Party in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. IV, p. 500.

In the presidential election of 1856 the State which had been accused, but a few years before, of being as pro-slavery in sentiment as Alabama and Mississippi, ranged herself alongside the New England States, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Ohio. Frémont's majority over Buchanan was almost 8000. The Buchanan vote was heaviest in the counties along the southern border, and in certain of the counties along the Mississippi River. It was lightest in the prairie counties of the interior which were nearly all carried by Frémont. For example, Grundy County gave Buchanan but two votes.[19] "All thanks, all honor to Iowa", wrote Lincoln.[20] Two years later, Grimes was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Senator Jones where he remained long enough to cast one of the seven Republican votes in favor of the acquittal of President Johnson of the impeachment charges in 1868.

The State of Iowa thus passed under Republican control which was destined to continue almost unbroken to the present time. The affiliation of the newcomers with the new party during the period of Iowa's greatest growth in the fifties established the habit of voting the Republican ticket. The Civil War gave to the party a still firmer hold on the people of the State. The tradition was transmitted from father to son and persisted through the following years.[21] Twice only since the Civil War have the Democrats elected their candidate for Governor, in 1889 and 1891, when Horace Boies, a former Republican, who had broken with the party over the prohibition and the tariff issues, was chosen. Once only has the electoral vote of the State been given to the Democratic candidate for presi-

[19] *Tribune Almanac*, 1857, p. 62.

[20] Cole's *A History of the People of Iowa*, p. 312.

[21] McMurry's *The Soldier Vote in Iowa in the Election of 1888* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVIII, p. 336.

dent. This was in 1912 when Woodrow Wilson received a plurality of popular votes.

Were this all, the record would indeed be "as a tale that is told". But this is far from the truth. The Republicanism of Iowa has not always been the same as the rock-ribbed Republicanism of some of her eastern sisters. Various third party movements, often exerting an influence far beyond their voting strength, have enlivened much of the period since.

Before the decade 1860–1870 had ended, the seeds of unrest and discontent had been sown. The period of the sixties and early seventies was one of great agricultural expansion. Four railroads, the Chicago and Northwestern, the Rock Island, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, and the Illinois Central, had been completed across the State to the Missouri River by the close of the year 1870.[22] The increase in population for the decade, 1860–1870, was seventy-six and nine-tenths per cent. "Iowa", declares Hamlin Garland, "was now the place of the rainbow and the pot of gold."[23] The increase from 1870 to 1880 was thirty-six and one-tenth per cent. Among the newcomers of the sixties were two future Governors, Horace Boies, a native of New York, and Leslie M. Shaw, a Vermonter. The Garlands came from Wisconsin in 1869. The Lowdens, father and son, the former a blacksmith and pioneer farmer, came to Hardin County from Minnesota in 1868 in a prairie schooner. An interesting coincidence was the arrival of two young men in 1878, Albert B. Cummins, a native of Pennsylvania, and Jonathan P. Dolliver, a native of Virginia, now West Virginia. Both had lived for a time in Illinois. The former came to Des Moines to practice law, the latter to Fort Dodge.

[22] Riegel's *The Story of Western Railroads*, pp. 101–106.

[23] Garland's *A Son of the Middle Border*, p. 43.

The number of farms was almost doubled in the sixties. The production of wheat was more than trebled, that of corn nearly doubled.[24] Wheat was Iowa's first great staple. Eye witnesses speak of the landscape changing within a short time from a sea of waving prairie grass and golden sunflowers to a sea of waving wheat.[25] Iowa ranked second among the States in wheat production in 1870. Wheat farming gradually gave way to corn and hogs. While the production of wheat increased but slightly in the seventies, the production of corn quadrupled in the same period. There was an increase of almost sixty per cent in the number of farms during the decade.[26] Naturally, this enormous expansion in agriculture was accompanied by a decline in prices. The father of Herbert Quick soon discovered that after hauling a load of corn for fourteen miles to market it would about pay for a load of coal to haul home. Like many another farmer he decided to burn the corn for fuel and save the long haul.[27] Nor was this all. The prairie farmers of Iowa were almost entirely dependent on the railroads to transport their grain to the eastern market. The decline in prices made the farmers feel the burden of the freight rates. The result was a radical change from the earlier favorable attitude toward the railroads.[28] The ravages of grasshoppers in the so-called grasshopper years of 1873, 1874, and 1876 added to the farmer's burdens.[29] Nor should the toil, the hardships, and the loneliness of the frontier life as it was experienced

[24] *Abstract of the Eleventh Census of the United States*, p. 87.

[25] Quick's *One Man's Life*, pp. 191–193.

[26] *Tenth Census of the United States* (Agriculture), 1880, p. ix.

[27] Quick's *One Man's Life*, p. 214.

[28] Cole's *A History of the People of Iowa*, pp. 405, 406.

[29] Briggs's *Grasshopper Plagues in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIII, pp. 349–391.

by many an Iowa pioneer of this period be overlooked by the student of this question.

The rapid growth of the Grange in the State between 1868 and 1874, and the organization of the Anti-Monopoly party at Des Moines in 1873 were the first manifestations of this unrest and discontent. With the aid of Democratic votes the former Republican majorities were reduced about one-half in 1873, 1874, and 1876. One of the principal planks in the platform of the Anti-Monopoly party was railway regulation. The Republican platform of 1873 contained a like demand. It was by a Republican legislature under Granger influence and upon the recommendation of a Republican Governor, Cyrus C. Carpenter, a member of the Grange, that the well known maximum rate law of 1874 was enacted. This law has been referred to as one of the greatest legislative achievements in the State's history.[30] It was destined, however, to be of short life. The story of its repeal, as related by Charles Aldrich, and the substitution of the advisory commission law of 1878 for it is a familiar one.[31] The principle of railway regulation was established by the Granger legislation in Iowa and other States, and was sustained by Supreme Court decisions.

The Greenback party in Iowa, organized at Des Moines in 1876, was an outgrowth of the same conditions outlined above. Chief among the demands of this party were the repeal of the Resumption Act, the issue of legal tender paper money by the government, and the remonetization of the silver dollar. One of the leaders of the movement was James B. Weaver, a native of Ohio, a veteran of the Civil War, and a former Republican. "In General Weaver", says Professor Fred E. Haynes, "the radical progressive

[30] Larrabee's *The Railway Question*, p. 333.

[31] Aldrich's *The Repeal of the Granger Law in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. III, pp. 256–270.

sentiment found its first real leader. His place in the movement for economic and industrial reform looms larger as we are able to understand it better and to see it in its proper perspective."[32]

Weaver maintained that he quit the Republican party because the Republicanism of 1877 was not the Republicanism of 1860. He felt that it was no longer the friend of the poor, the lowly, and the downtrodden. His political opponents claimed that Weaver left the party because of his defeat for the Republican nomination for Governor in 1875.[33] Whatever the cause may have been, one can not but admire his ability and courage in advocating in Congress and out many measures which were unpopular at the time. He was ahead of his time in advocating a more adequate currency, the control of the volume of money by the government, a graduated income tax, the regulation of railroads by the national government, and in his opposition to monopoly in any form. He anticipated the insurgent movement by twenty years in his opposition to high tariffs which protect trusts which "pour a golden stream into the pockets of the manufacturers but never return to bless and enrich the children of toil."[34]

In 1878, General Weaver and E. H. Gillette were elected to Congress by Greenback and Democratic votes.[35] In one of his early speeches in the House of Representatives the former delivered a scathing attack on the financial policy of the government, a subject that was to occupy his thought for many years to come. "I say it is the climax of iniquity in legislation that a great government like ours of forty seven million people soon to have a hundred million should

[32] Haynes's *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War*, p. 143.

[33] *Congressional Record*, 50th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 6145–6147.

[34] *Congressional Record*, 50th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 4240–4261.

[35] Haynes's *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War*, p. 167.

say that for all time we will never issue another dollar of legal tender paper nor remonetize silver, that the national banks for all time to come shall have the absolute control of the volume of currency of this country and hence over the destiny of our people. I call on the people everywhere to arise and in their might and strength shake off this incubus."[36] While not exactly in the form advocated by Weaver the government finally adopted reforms providing for a more elastic currency. Dr. James A. Woodburn is right when he says, "He was the prophet and the pioneer, the clear voice in advance. He planted and sowed what others came to reap."[37]

In 1880, Weaver, as the Greenback candidate for president, received 32,701 votes in Iowa, a number exceeded by but two other States. This was nearly 13,000 less than the Greenback vote for Governor the preceding year and represented about ten per cent of the total votes. In seven counties, all west of the Des Moines River, the vote for Weaver was larger than the Democratic vote.[38] Thereafter, the Greenback movement rapidly declined. By fusing with the Democrats the party elected L. H. Weller to Congress in 1882, and General Weaver again in 1884 and 1886. By the end of the decade the party had practically ceased to exist. Other movements were taking its place, notably the Farmers' Alliance and Populism.

The People's party failed to attain the strength in Iowa that it attained in certain other western States. Frontier conditions were passing in the State in the eighties. Iowa has been classed as a border State between the old and new West in this period. The increase in population between

[36] *Congressional Globe*, 46th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 1197–1202.

[37] Woodburn's *Western Radicalism in American Politics* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, p. 159.

[38] *Tribune Almanac*, 1881, p. 49.

1880 and 1890 was only seventeen and seven-tenths per cent. About one-fourth of the counties, all eastern, with two or three exceptions, showed an actual decline. In fact the State was becoming an important colonizer of other areas. Nearly four hundred thousand natives of Iowa were living in other States in 1890. Almost two hundred thousand of these were living in Kansas, Nebraska, and the two Dakotas, a number exceeded by that of only one other State, Illinois.[39] The wheat belt was moving on westward and northwestward, and many followed it who would have swelled the tide of discontent had they remained at home. "Dakota was now the magic word", says Garland. "The Jim River Valley was now the land of delight where herds of deer and buffalo furnished the cheer."[40]

Furthermore, Iowa was less dependent upon one or two crops than in former years. The amount of wheat grown in 1890 was but little more than one-fourth of that grown in 1880. The production of corn was still increasing. Iowa ranked first in the production of this cereal in 1890.[41] Quite as marked was the development of stock raising and dairying. In the production of swine Iowa ranked first in 1890. In the total number of cattle she ranked second. In the number of dairy cattle she led all of the other States, with nearly one and a half million, a gain of six hundred thousand for the decade.[42] The State was gradually learning the lesson of diversification which her neighbor, Wisconsin, had learned earlier.

After a long hard struggle the railroads of Iowa had at last been subjected to a fair degree of regulation through the agency of the Republican party. The Greenback party

[39] *Eleventh Census of the United States* (Population), 1890, p. 561.

[40] Garland's *A Son of the Middle Border*, pp. 229, 234.

[41] *Abstract of the Eleventh Census of the United States*, p. 87.

[42] *Eleventh Census of the United States* (Agriculture), p. 274.

had denounced the weak law of 1878, and demanded its repeal as early as 1879. The platforms of both the old parties favored more adequate control in 1887. Chief credit for the law of 1888, by which the power of the railway commission was greatly strengthened, belongs to the able and progressive Governor Larrabee, who served during the closing years of the eighties. In his book on the railway question Larrabee points out that over four million acres of public lands, and subsidies amounting to fifty million dollars more had been granted to railroads in Iowa. One of the conditions of the grant of land, received from Congress and regranted by the General Assembly to the railroads, was the acceptance by the latter of the principle of legislative control.[43] The law of 1888 was the most effective application of the principle up to that time. The failure of Senator Allison to obtain the Republican nomination for president that year has been attributed to this legislation. According to the statements of Senator Hoar and the late Chauncey Depew, the latter refused to approve of the nomination of anyone who came from a State holding such radical views on railway regulation.[44]

It must not be thought that the economic background of populism was entirely lacking in Iowa. Professor Frederick J. Turner has pointed out that between 1880 and 1900 an agricultural area was added to the United States equal to the combined European area of France, Germany, England, and Wales.[45] In common with the rest of the West, Iowa was experiencing the low prices resulting largely from this agricultural expansion. There had been a great increase in the mortgages in the State in the decade of the

[43] Larrabee's *The Railway Question*, pp. 329, 330.

[44] Depew's *My Memories of Eighty Years*, pp. 130–132; Hoar's *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, pp. 411–413.

[45] Turner's *The Frontier in American History*, p. 312.

eighties. Nearly one-half of all the taxable land in 1890 was mortgaged. Even then, the total amount of the mortgages was much less than in Kansas. The greater portion of the mortgages had, it is true, been incurred in the purchase of real estate and represented investments.[46]

The People's party in Iowa was organized at a convention held at Des Moines in June, 1891. In its leadership, and its demand for free silver, an increase in the circulating medium, and railway control, the party proved its relationship with the third party movements already mentioned. The former Greenbacker, General Weaver, was the outstanding leader of the People's party in Iowa and in the nation. In the election of 1892, Weaver received but 20,595 votes for president in his own State. This was 12,000 less than he had received in Iowa as the Greenback candidate in 1880, and represented less than five per cent of the total vote. It was about one-fourth of the Populist vote in Nebraska and one-eighth of that in Kansas. A plurality vote was obtained in but one county, Monona, on the western border.[47] The Republicans carried the State in 1892 by a smaller margin than usual, after losing the Governorship in 1889 and 1891 and a majority of representatives in 1890. Four years later, in 1896, Iowa went with the conservative East despite the fact that the State Republican platform had heretofore favored silver. McKinley's majority over Bryan was 65,000, the largest majority ever given a candidate for the presidency up to that time, save Garfield. Eighty-two of the ninety-nine counties were carried by McKinley. The campaigning of George E. Roberts and the lawyer-banker, Leslie M. Shaw, proved especially effec-

[46] Nixon's *The Economic Basis of the Populist Movement in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XXI, p. 391.

[47] *Tribune Almanac*, 1893, p. 276.

tive.[48] "The Gibraltar of Republicanism" had weathered two storms, that of 1892 and 1896.

Prices of farm products gradually rose after 1896. "I am glad to testify", wrote James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture, in 1897, "that the spirit of improvement and progress is more general among American farmers than ever before." The revival of prosperity was accompanied by a rapid decline of Populism in Iowa as well as elsewhere. At the beginning of the present century the Republican party was apparently never more strongly intrenched in the State. Her leaders were especially prominent in national affairs. In 1902, the veteran William B. Allison of Dubuque, kindly, conciliatory, conservative, and nearly always regular, still held his seat in the United States Senate, which, throughout the recurring waves of popular discontent, he had retained for nearly thirty years. He was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, of which he had been a member since 1873. His colleague and able lieutenant was Jonathan P. Dolliver of Fort Dodge, appointed in 1900 to succeed John H. Gear. David B. Henderson was Speaker of the House, with a record of twenty years continuous service in that body. James Wilson, an Iowa farmer and a popular professor of agriculture at Iowa State College at Ames, was Secretary of Agriculture, a position he had filled since 1897, and was to continue to hold until 1913. Leslie M. Shaw, a former Governor of the State, was Secretary of the Treasury.[49]

The first decade of the twentieth century, however, was not to be an era of good feeling in Iowa politics. Already signs of a revolt within the ranks of the dominant party were in evidence. There was a growing dissatisfaction with prevailing political methods and ideals. Railroad interests

[48] Cole's *A History of the People of Iowa*, pp. 491, 492.

[49] Cole's *A History of the People of Iowa*, p. 521.

had again become powerful. The defeat of Albert B. Cummins for a seat in the United States Senate in 1894 was attributed in part to these interests.[50] Cummins had won prominence as a Des Moines lawyer in the eighties fighting the legal battles of the Farmers' Alliance against the trust seeking to monopolize the manufacture of barbed wire. In 1901 he was elected Governor in spite of the opposition of certain corporate interests. The platform upon which Governor Cummins was elected contained a declaration which attracted widespread attention at the time. "We favor", so ran the statement, "any modifications of the tariff schedules that may be required to prevent their affording a shelter to monopoly". This declaration in favor of a more liberal tariff policy came to be known as "the Iowa idea". It is difficult to see why the declaration aroused so much interest. George E. Roberts, its author, points out very clearly that there was nothing new or original about it.[51]

In his inaugural address of January, 1902, the new Governor announced a reform program which included the prevention of stock watering by corporations and a more adequate taxation of railroads. "Property", he declared, "must have its protection, but men and women are worth more than property". Turning to national issues Governor Cummins reaffirmed the tariff declaration in the State Republican platform of 1901. "I cannot resist the conclusion", he declared, "that some changes might well be made, not through the medium of reciprocal treaties, but directly. Protection was made for man, and not man for protection."[52]

[50] Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa,* Ch. XVII.

[51] Roberts's *The Origin and History of the Iowa Idea* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. II, pp. 70, 71.

[52] *Inaugural Address of Albert B. Cummins,* 1902, p. 10.

It is not without significance that David B. Henderson of Dubuque, who had always been in strict accord with the traditional attitude of his party on the tariff question, announced in the summer of 1902 that he would not be a candidate for reëlection.[53]

Cummins was Governor of Iowa from 1902 until 1908, three consecutive terms. His administration was a constant challenge to the "stand pat" doctrine. "There is no such thing as rest in the economy of the universe", declared the energetic Governor, "and no such thing as 'stand pat' in the order of the living world." The achievements of these years included a railway taxation measure, an anti-pass law, an act prohibiting stock watering, insurance reforms, educational reforms, and a direct primary law.[54]

The death of Senator Allison in August, 1908, two months after his victory in the first senatorial direct primary in Iowa, ended the career of one whose service in the United States Senate covered a period of thirty-five years and five months, the longest on record. His service in the House and Senate together amounted to forty-three years and five months. Governor Cummins was chosen to succeed Senator Allison and took his seat in December, 1908, on the eve of the great tariff struggle.[55]

In the battle royal of 1909 Iowa's two senators played prominent parts as members of that little group of insurgents who opposed the Paine-Aldrich schedules. Neither was a recent convert to the idea of more moderate duties. Cummins had advocated this as early as 1901 as noted above. Dolliver had declared on the occasion of his election to the Senate in 1902 that many of the tariff rates of 1897 had already become unnecessary and in some cases ab-

[53] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1902, p. 726.

[54] *Congressional Record*, 69th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 4961.

[55] Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, pp. 257, 258.

surd.[56] The latter had, however, refrained from breaking with the old leadership until after the death of Senator Allison.[57] The story of this struggle, which probably hastened Dolliver's own death the following year, is one of the best known chapters in the recent history of the United States. Not only Iowa's two senators but seven of her eleven representatives, six of them Republicans, voted against the act.[58] In the next presidential election, that of 1912, Iowa gave Roosevelt 42,000 more votes than Taft. Wilson received a plurality vote. For the first time since 1852 the electoral vote of the State was given to the Democratic candidate for president.

The recent so-called radical movement in Iowa politics, like the earlier third party movements, is an outgrowth of agricultural unrest and discontent. In fact, history has been repeating itself in Iowa in the last ten years. Like the decade of the sixties, the second decade of the twentieth century, especially the latter half of it, was a period of prosperity for agriculture. The value of farm property, land and buildings, more than doubled between 1910 and 1920. Iowa stood at the head of all the States of the Union in the latter year in the value of farm property. Encouraged by high prices, many farmers purchased land at exorbitant prices. The mortgaged debt in Iowa more than doubled between 1910 and 1920. The total amount of mortgages at the end of the decade on owner operated farms was far in excess of any other State.[59] This period of expansion was followed by a sudden decline in prices beginning in the latter part of the year 1920, similar to the decline in the seventies. Between January 1, 1920, and January 1,

[56] *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 1st Session, p. 1706.

[57] La Follette's *Autobiography*, pp. 430–444.

[58] *Congressional Record*, 61st Congress, 1st Session, p. 4755.

[59] *Fourteenth Census of the United States* (Agriculture), 1920, Pt. 1, p. 47.

1921, wheat fell from two dollars and fifteen cents per bushel to one dollar and eleven cents, corn from one dollar and thirty-eight cents per bushel to fifty-seven cents, and hogs from fourteen dollars and ninety cents per hundred pounds to nine dollars and forty-one cents.[60] An enormous crop was produced in 1920. Iowa's corn crop for that year was the largest in her history up to that time. It was produced at a great cost. The fall in prices resulted in many cases in selling at less than the cost of production.

The student of western history is not surprised by the fact that Iowa gave La Follette, as candidate for president in 1924, two hundred thousand more votes than the Democratic candidate and nearly two-thirds as many votes as were given to the Republican candidate. In seventy-nine out of the ninety-nine counties La Follette ran ahead of Davis. Three other States, only, gave La Follette more votes, Wisconsin, Illinois, and California.[61]

Iowa's interests in the past have been preëminently agricultural. In 1920, sixty-three and six-tenths per cent of her population was rural. According to the latest estimates, but one city in the State has a population of over one hundred thousand. While it is impossible to attribute everything that has transpired in Iowa political history to these factors, none will deny that they have exerted a very marked influence on political trends in the State. The tendency toward party regularity and conservatism of a farming population, when contented, the recurring waves of radicalism, so-called, when agriculture is seriously depressed, upon the part of those most directly affected; the return to old moorings with the removal of the causes of discontent; these are the outstanding characteristics of the political history of Iowa. Manufacturing has been devel-

[60] *Yearbook of Agriculture* (United States), 1925, pp. 1128–1366.

[61] *The World Almanac*, 1925, p. 864.

oping rapidly in the State in the last few years. It seems reasonable to predict that if this tendency continues agricultural conditions will exert less and less influence on politics and that Iowa will become more and more like the East politically. There are many who will lament this drift toward industrialism. Senator Cummins doubtless struck a responsive chord in countless Hawkeye hearts when he declared, some years before his death, "I would not exchange the fertile fields of Iowa for all the manufacturing enterprises that could be crowded within our borders."[62]

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[62] *Inaugural Address of Albert B. Cummins,* 1904, p. 4.

THE CITY MANAGER PLAN IN IOWA

[This is the first installment of an article on the city manager plan in Iowa, by John M. Pfiffner. The article will be continued in the January number of this magazine.— THE EDITOR]

In 1914 the State Auditor of Iowa reported four cities operating under the "General Manager plan of government". The report of this official goes on to state that, no statute being found to provide for this form of city government, "the cities which have undertaken it have endeavored to conform to the law by electing city clerks and then giving them the additional title of city managers, with full executive authority in handling the financial affairs of their cities, within the limitations of the code."[1] Thus, the city manager began his Iowa existence as an extralegal official. He did not come to satisfy the whims and fancies of doctrinaire faddists. He arose spontaneously to fill the need of small municipalities confronted with the necessity of spending large sums of money for paving, sewers, water extensions, electric light plants, and many other material conveniences.

The part-time elective mayor had little or no power to deal with these matters. Such authority as he possessed was often hampered by jealous councils which sought to

[1] *Annual Report of the Department of Finance and Municipal Accounts*, 1914, p. ix; Chang's *History and Analysis of the Commission and City Manager Plans of Municipal Government in the United States*, p. 202. The report of the National Municipal League favoring the city manager plan is quoted in *American Municipalities*, Vol. XXVI, p. 113. On the same page the extralegal plan, then operating in Clarinda, is described. Charles P. Chase, a civil engineer of Clinton, advocates the adoption of the plan in his *City Manager Plan for Iowa* in *American Municipalities*, Vol. XXVII, p. 58.

supervise minutely the details of administration during their periodic sessions. Such irresponsibility may have worked without giving rise to glaring abuses during the nineteenth century when only the larger cities deemed it necessary to pave, when the old fashioned outhouse and cesspool were used instead of the modern sewer, when the kerosene lamp and the private gas plant largely sufficed for illumination, and when a large percentage of dwellings drew their water supplies from private wells and cisterns. When the rural municipalities began to pave their streets, substitute sewers for outhouses, extend their water mains, and build electric plants, the old decentralized administration frequently broke down. Loads of debt often added to the burden of utilities operated with recurring deficits. It was this situation that caused the inauguration of the extra-legal manager plan by augmenting and dignifying the statutory office of city clerk.

In 1915 the General Assembly adopted two acts authorizing the optional city manager plan for cities and towns. One elaborated a definite form of organization which could be adopted by a majority vote of the electorate. Dubuque, Webster City, and Mason City are now operating under this statute. Another brief act of the same year authorized the council of cities with a population under 25,000 other than those operating under the commission plan to hire a city manager and consolidate under his direction certain enumerated functions and officials. This is commonly known as the city manager plan by ordinance because it can be adopted by mere ordinance or resolution of the council. Any classification of municipalities under this category must necessarily be somewhat arbitrary because several cities have hired superintendents of municipally owned utilities who have been loosely referred to as city managers. The author has selected the following nine cities

and one town as the city manager type under the Iowa law — Ames, Bettendorf, Clarinda, Iowa Falls, Manchester, Maquoketa, Mount Pleasant, Red Oak, Villisca, and the town of West Liberty. If this enumeration does not tally with the official list it is because the officials of some towns have either denied the existence of an ordinance or have informed the writer that they have never had a city manager.[2]

Iowa is not a Home Rule State. The special charters which still apply to Davenport, Muscatine, Wapello, and Camanche were granted prior to the Constitution of 1857 which forbade the practice. Hence, when the writer refers to the charter city manager plan he is merely following the practice of the City Managers' Association which has chosen to call those cities charter cities which adopt the plan by popular vote or referendum. Where the city manager is merely imposed on the existing organization by independent action of the council the arrangement is known as the city manager plan by ordinance.[3]

THE CHARTER MANAGER LAW

Adoption.— Any city or incorporated town, including municipalities governed by commission or under special charter, may adopt the charter city manager form as outlined in Chapter 328 of the *Code of 1927*.[4] The mayor must call an election on the question of adopting the plan not less than thirty nor more than sixty days after he is presented with petitions containing the signatures of electors equal in number to twenty-five per cent of the votes cast for mayor in the last preceding municipal election. If more than ten per cent of the electors live in each of two or more town-

[2] *Laws of Iowa*, 1915, Chs. 95, 180.

[3] *Public Management*, Vol. IX, p. 276.

[4] *Code of 1927*, Secs. 6615, 6783.

ships the petition must bear the names of ten per cent of the voters of each of those townships. The laws applicable to elections in cities under the general law apply to this special referendum. If the election changes the form of government the result must be certified to the Secretary of State by the mayor.[5] No such certification is needed if the referendum is adverse to change,[6] in which case the question can not be again submitted to the voters until two years have passed.[7]

Election of the Council.— If the next regular city election occurs within one year after the adoption of the city manager plan the first council is not elected until that time. If the next regular election is more than a year away the mayor must, within ten days, proclaim a special election, giving thirty days notice. Cities having a population in excess of 20,000 elect five councilmen while others elect only three.[8] In the case of a city having a population between 20,000 and 75,000 lying in two townships divided by a watercourse, there are to be only four councilmen, two from each township. It is commonly claimed that this was placed in the original enactment of 1915 to take care of the sectional rivalries in Waterloo where the adoption of the plan was contemplated.[9] Councilmen elected at a special election called by the mayor assume office on the first Monday after election and hold office until the next regular biennial municipal election, and until their successors are elect-

[5] *Code of 1927*, Secs. 6616–6619.

[6] See a letter from the office of Secretary of State of Iowa, dated June 8, 1927, signed by S. L. Ostrem.

[7] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6620.

[8] The Forty-second General Assembly lowered this from 25,000 to 20,000 in order that Mason City might have five councilmen.— *Laws of Iowa*, 1927, Ch. 170, amending *Code of 1924*, Secs. 6621, 6622.

[9] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6622; *Supplemental Supplement, 1915*, Sec. 1056-b1.

ed and qualified.[10] At the next biennial election where three councilmen are to be elected, one shall be elected for two years and two for three years; where five are to be elected, two shall be elected for two years and three for three years. At each following biennial election there are elected a member or members of the council to succeed for a term of three years, those whose terms expire the first of April following the election and there are also elected successors for those whose terms expire one year after the following April first. Thus all councilmen are elected for three years after the original apportionment of terms, but some do not take office until a year after they are elected. Such an arrangement is probably calculated to guard against sudden changes in policy and protect the manager plan from the vicissitudes of passionate politics while at the same time preserving representative institutions.

Elections are non-partisan, at-large, and with no attempt at proportional representation. The commissioners are supposed to represent the city at large. Sectional or ward interests are submerged. Ballots show the time when the candidate's term is to commence and nomination petitions must specify the length of the term of office for which the candidate seeks nomination. The terms of aldermen, mayor, or councilmen in office under the old plan cease as soon as the new councilmen have qualified.[11]

The Mayor.— At the first meeting of the newly elected council that body selects one of its members to act as presiding officer and chairman and he is to be designated as mayor. He is to be recognized by the courts and officers of the State as the official head of the city upon whom civil process may be served. He may take command of the po-

[10] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6624.

[11] *Code of 1927*, Secs. 6625, 6626.

lice and govern the city by proclamation at times of public danger and during an emergency, and is the judge as to what constitutes such an emergency. The law provides that the election "of a member of such city or town council as mayor shall not give him or confer upon him any additional power or authority, except such as is herein provided and such as is ordinarily exercised by a presiding officer."[12] As a matter of fact the mayor is merely presiding officer of the council and ceremonial head of the city. It usually devolves upon him to welcome distinguished visitors and present them with the key to the city, make speeches at the laying of cornerstones, and make other official contacts with the public on behalf of the municipality. From the standpoint of legal authority he has no more power than other members of the council. Both the mayor and other members of the council serve without compensation.[13]

Powers and Duties of the Council.— The regular meeting of the council occurs on the first Monday of each month. Special meetings may be called by two councilmen. All meetings are open to the public. If the mayor is not present a temporary presiding officer may be selected from those present. In five member councils three constitute a quorum, while only two are required where the council is composed of three members. The yeas and nays must be called and recorded on every vote; and every motion, resolution, or ordinance must be reduced to writing before the vote is taken.[14]

The council appoints certain officers who are responsible to it rather than to the manager. They are the city clerk,

[12] *Code of 1927*, Secs. 6645–6647.

[13] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6633.

[14] *Code of 1927*, Secs. 6648–6650.

the police judge, city solicitor, assessor, and members of the library board. It may also appoint a corporation counsel and assistant solicitors.[15] Instead of serving as a board of review, as in cities and towns under the general act, the council appoints three persons to constitute a local board of review.[16]

Every ordinance or resolution "appropriating money or ordering any sewer or street improvement, or making or authorizing the making of any contract, or granting any franchise, or the right to use and occupy the streets, highways, bridges, or public places of the city or town, for any purpose, shall be complete in the form in which it is finally passed, and, except an ordinance or resolution for an improvement, the preservation of the public peace, health, or safety, which contains a statement of its urgency, shall remain on file with the city or town clerk, for public inspection, at least one week before its final passage or adoption."[17]

The law further provides that with certain exceptions ordinances shall not go into effect until the elapse of ten days after passage. During the ten days the voters of the city may protest through the medium of petitions bearing the signatures of the electorate equal to twenty-five per cent of the number voting at the last preceding general or municipal election. If adequate petitions are presented to the council the operation of the ordinance is suspended. If the council fails to repeal the ordinance it then goes to the electorate at a regular or special election. If the majority favor the ordinance it becomes operative and can not be repealed or amended except by a vote of the people. The council may submit a proposal for its repeal or amendment

[15] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6651.

[16] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6653.

[17] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6657.

at any succeeding general municipal election. Every ordinance passed shall be signed by a majority of the council and recorded before it goes into effect.[18]

The Manager.— The council is authorized to appoint a manager "who shall be the administrative head of the municipal government of the city or town in which he is appointed."[19] The manager need not be a resident of the municipality at the time of his appointment. The law specifically declares that the council shall consider only the candidate's qualification and fitness, ignoring all considerations of political faith. During the absence of the manager the council may designate some qualified person to perform the duties of his office. The manager must before taking office swear to support the Constitutions of both the State and the United States, take an oath of office, and execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties.[20]

The Manager's Duties.— It is the duty of the manager through his control of the police department to see that the laws and ordinances of his municipality are faithfully enforced and executed. He must attend all council meetings and recommend to the council such measures as he may deem expedient for the good government of the city or town. He is authorized to supervise and direct every appointive officer of the city except those appointed by the council — the clerk, police judge, solicitor, corporation counsel, assessor, board of review, and members of the library board. He must supervise the performance of all contracts for work done for the city, make all purchases of material and supplies, see that they are received, and inspect them to

[18] *Code of 1927*, Secs. 6658–6664.

[19] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6665.

[20] *Code of 1927*, Secs. 6666–6668.

see whether they measure up to the qualifications and specifications of the contract. He has the power to employ, discharge, and fix the compensation of all employees of the municipality except as otherwise provided by law. He has the power to summarily discharge without stating the cause any officer or employee whom he has authority to employ.[21]

The manager is charged with the supervision and management of all public improvements, works, and undertakings, and has charge of the construction, improvement, repair, and maintenance of streets, sidewalks, alleys, lanes, squares, bridges, viaducts, aqueducts, public highways, sewers, drains, ditches, culverts, streams, watercourses, except those under the authority of a park commission, and all public buildings. The city manager supervises and controls market houses, crematories, sewage disposal plants, and farms. He must enforce all obligations of privately owned utilities enforceable by the municipality. He has charge of the making and preservation of all surveys, maps, plans, drawings, specifications, and estimates for public works or public improvements; the cleaning, sprinkling, and lighting of streets, alleys, and public places; the collection and disposal of waste; and the preservation of tools and appliances belonging to the city or town. The city manager manages all municipal water, lighting, heating, or power plants, and transportation enterprises. He also has general charge of the recreational facilities of the city or town, including parks, playgrounds, public gymnasiums, and public bathhouses.

The city manager may institute a summary inquiry into the conduct of any employee or officer under his supervision. Those in charge of such an inquiry have the power to compel the attendance of witnesses, the production of books, and papers, and other evidence and to punish for

[21] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6669.

contempt any person who shall fail to attend and testify as a witness when duly summoned, or who shall fail to produce any books, papers, or other evidence under his control when required to do so.[22]

The manager is authorized to take active control of the police, fire, and engineering departments of the city or town, and employ such assistants or employees as are deemed advisable. He may issue and revoke licenses within the limits of the law, but all licenses must be signed by both the clerk and manager. The city manager is supposed to keep the council informed on the financial affairs of the city and of its future needs. He has the power to appoint or employ persons to fill places for which no other mode of employment is provided. He also has the power to administer oaths.[23]

The manager holds office at the fiat of the council, and may be dismissed by it at any time. The council may require him to do any special thing which is not of itself illegal. The salary of the manager is set by the council and paid upon the presentation of an order signed by the presiding officer of the council and of the clerk. The manager may not appoint a councilman to any municipal office.[24] The law also provides that the manager shall not enter into any political activity calculated to promote the interests of any candidate for councilman.[25]

Budget and Accounts.— The city manager is charged with the preparation and submission to the council of an

[22] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6669 (9–14).

[23] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6669 (15–18).

[24] *Code of 1927*, Secs. 6674–6676.

[25] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6676. For an account of the attempt to use this statute against O. E. Carr, see *City Manager Magazine*, Vol. VI, p. 32; *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), April 2, 1924; State of Iowa *v.* O. E. Carr, Criminal Case No. 5083 in the District Court of Dubuque County.

annual budget based on estimates of the expenses of the various departments. These department estimates are expected to show the expenses of each department for the preceding year and indicate where increases or decreases are recommended for the coming year. The draft budget must be printed in the local newspapers two weeks before submitted to the council where it is taken up in open meeting so that any taxpayer may have full opportunity to lodge objections and protests.[26] The law authorizes the manager to "see that the business affairs of the municipal corporation of which he is manager are transacted in a modern and scientific method, in an efficient and business-like manner, and that accurate records of all of the business affairs of the city or town under his management, are fully and accurately kept."[27] Most managers are not content with the mere keeping of accounts required by the State. G. J. Long of Webster City has developed a cost ledger for the general city government covering over one hundred and fifty categories of expenditure. He is thus able to trace any item back to the invoice, buying order, and receiving party at any time. He has similar ledgers for each utility plant and claims that this sort of accounting has made possible many economies including the reduction of electric rates by three cents per kilowatt.

Before the tenth day of each month the manager must make an itemized report to the council, showing in detail the receipts and disbursements for the preceding month. After receiving the approval of the council these reports are printed in the official newspapers of the municipality.[28] In this manner the public is kept fully informed about the financial affairs of the city.

[26] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6670.

[27] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6671.

[28] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6672.

Civil Service.— When Dubuque adopted the manager plan in 1920 the general civil service laws applicable to cities were not in effect in city manager municipalities. Dubuque set up a sort of extralegal civil service commission which held examinations and made appointments to the police and fire departments upon the basis of merit.[29] Statutory civil service for manager cities was enacted by the Thirty-ninth General Assembly in 1921.[30] All of the municipal civil service laws were consolidated into Chapter 289 of the *Code of 1924.* In manager cities this act applies to all members of the police and fire departments except the chief of police, the chief of the fire department, matrons, janitors, clerks, stenographers, secretaries, and casual employees.[31] Chiefs may be appointed from men on the civil service list but managers are not confined to this list in making their appointments of heads of the fire and police departments.[32] The Iowa civil service law is applicable to a much larger range of employees in commission cities having a population in excess of 100,000.[33] When there was some agitation for the city manager plan in Des Moines in 1926 it was pointed out that the civil service employees outside the police and fire departments would lose their rights in the change.[34] The law regarding pensions for policemen and firemen is applicable to city manager cities; hence a

[29] Letter from O. E. Carr, dated Fort Worth, Texas, January 22, 1927, and addressed to R. L. Jackson of Mason City. This letter is now preserved in the files of the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City.

[30] *Laws of Iowa,* 1921, Ch. 216.

[31] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 5694.

[32] *Laws of Iowa,* 1925, Ch. 127; *Code of 1927,* Sec. 5699.

[33] *Code of 1924,* Sec. 5694.

[34] See an opinion by Corporation Counsel Reson S. Jones, dated January 11, 1926, and addressed to W. F. Mitchell, Superintendent Department of Streets and Public Improvements. A copy of this opinion is on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City.

change in form of government does not impair their status in this respect.[35]

Abandonment.— If a municipality has once adopted the charter manager plan it can not abandon it until it has operated under its organization for six years. After this period of city manager rule has elapsed a city or town may vote to become organized under the general law or to resume its special charter if so organized at the time of adopting the manager charter. Abandonment is determined at a special election called by a petition containing the names of at least twenty-five per cent of the electors of the city or town. If a majority of votes cast are in favor of abandonment the officers for the new organization are elected at the next following biennial election and the city manager plan ceases to function when they have qualified.[36]

THE ORDINANCE MANAGER STATUTE

In 1915 the General Assembly of Iowa passed an act authorizing the establishment of the office of city manager by ordinance of the council.[37] This law is optional with all cities and towns except those having a population in excess of 25,000 and those organized under the commission plan. The manager is appointed by a majority vote of the council, and he holds office during the pleasure of that body which may remove him by a majority vote. His compensation is also set by the council.

The law permits the council to provide that the manager "shall perform any or all of the duties incumbent upon the street commissioner, or manager of public utilities, cemetery sexton, city clerk, and superintendent of markets, and

[35] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6684.

[36] *Code of 1927*, Secs. 6687–6690.

[37] *Code of 1927*, Ch. 327.

that he shall superintend and inspect all improvements and work upon the streets, alleys, sewers, and public grounds of the city or town, and perform such other and further duties as may be imposed upon him, and possess such other and further power as may, from time to time, be by ordinance conferred upon him."[38] It is further provided that when the manager is invested with the powers and duties of any appointive officer the appointment of such officer shall either be canceled or no new appointment shall be made.

This law is generally regarded as not applying to elective officers. Consequently it was ill adapted to first class cities until 1927, because the main administrative officers were elective. The Forty-second General Assembly made these officials appointive by the council, however, and it is now possible to apply the ordinance manager plan to first class cities having less than 25,000 population.[39] The statute has furthermore been interpreted as not authorizing the transfer of the mayor's control of the police force or any of his judicial prerogative to the manager. Under the first ordinance the West Liberty manager acted as marshal, but the appointment of that official is now in the hands of the mayor, although the manager is in *de facto* control of the police. The original ordinance at Ames gave no authority to the manager over the police. Former Manager P. F. Hopkins, however, did actually supervise much of the police activity in coöperation with the mayor. As a consequence the new ordinance at Ames gives the manager such authority over the police as the mayor may delegate to him.[40] This is probably as far as the ordinance could legally go.

Legally the city manager by ordinance is inherently weak. The ordinance is usually drawn by some one who is not

[38] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6613.

[39] *Laws of Iowa*, 1927, Ch. 141.

[40] Ames Ordinance, No. 380, July 11, 1927.

really familiar with the principles involved, usually the city clerk or some council committee. It is usually looked upon at first as an experiment which can be done away with at any council meeting if it does not measure up to expectations. Furthermore, it may be a mere whim of the council. Invariably it has no strong backing by any group of citizens. Ordinances do not as a rule give full authority to the manager, and it is not possible to obtain maximum results where there still exists a division of authority.

As a matter of fact a successful administration by an ordinance manager is largely the result of an extralegal growth. Its operation is guided by a body of unwritten customs and practices evolved upon the ground, each individual city presenting as many variations as do so many individual national governments. The charter is largely an unwritten law, developed and determined by the whims, fancies, and desires of successive managers and councils.

In cities where the manager has from the outset displayed courage, judgment, and administrative ability, mayors and councils have been happy in delegating to him successive grants of authority and new duties entirely outside the scope of the original ordinance. The result is that an efficient manager finds himself, as time goes on, becoming increasingly responsible for the general administration of the municipality while the original ordinance with its meagre statement of powers remains the written source of his authority. The danger arising from such a situation is that a new manager trying to abide by the written provisions of the ordinance would inevitably leave much undone that had been expected of the old manager. During his régime at Ames Mr. Hopkins gradually came to exercise a range of administrative authority far in excess of his fragmentary ordinance powers. It is gratifying to note that the Ames ordinance has been reframed so that his successor

will be legally invested with most of the prerogatives formerly exercised extralegally by Mr. Hopkins.[41]

City manager ordinances are comparatively a recent development. As a result they are more or less fragmentary. It is to be hoped and expected that a general code of city manager law and practice will be provided to meet the defects of the existing order.

DUBUQUE

In 1900 the city of Dubuque purchased its privately owned waterworks. The operation of the new department soon resulted in deficits of from $30,000 to $40,000 per year. In 1907 a new State law enabled the management of this utility to be placed under the supervision of an independent board free from political control. Meters were installed, minimum rates were reduced from $15.00 to $9.00 per year, and $200,000 worth of improvements were made from earnings in eight years. The success of this form of management prompted some to ask why other municipal affairs could not be handled more efficiently in the same manner. Dr. C. James Alderson, former mayor of Dubuque, feels that it "may be safely said that the advocating of the need of a better plan for the conduct of city business had its inception in that board of water works trustees."

Agitation was carried on for several years through the press, public debates, speeches, and the organization of better government movements, but these efforts were largely unsuccessful. In 1919, however, the labor organizations were induced to take up the cause through the

[41] The writer's remarks have been greatly influenced by information contained in a questionnaire filled out by manager P. F. Hopkins of Ames sometime during the fall of 1926. Mr. Hopkins assumed his new duties as city manager at Mason City on June 1, 1927. Both the old and new ordinances at Ames, and Mr. Hopkins's questionnaire, together with a communication from Dr. G. W. Rutherford of Iowa State College, are on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City.

efforts of J. Harold Wallis. With the assistance of Dr. Alderson and others a sufficient number of signatures was secured and an election was ordered.[42]

On Monday, January 26, 1920, the electorate of Dubuque chose to abandon its special charter and become organized under the charter city manager plan. The vote was 2386 for the adoption of the plan and 1523 against it, a majority of 863.[43] The first election found two complete tickets in the field, one having the direct support of those who had conducted the city manager adoption campaign. This ticket was headed by Dr. Alderson, the man whose enthusiasm, energy, and untiring effort is so largely responsible for the adoption of the city manager form of government in Dubuque. Three councilmen were elected from this ticket and two from the so-called non-partisan group. Dr. Alderson was elected as the first mayor under the manager plan.[44]

THE MANAGERS

The first city manager of Dubuque was Ossian E. Carr, formerly city manager at Cadillac, Michigan, Niagara Falls, New York, and Springfield, Ohio. His first salary at Dubuque was $8400 per year. On January 1, 1922, this was raised to $10,000. A year later Mr. Carr's recommendation that this be cut to $9500 was accepted by the council.[45]

Mr. Carr is frequently described as having many qualifi-

[42] Letter from Dr. James Alderson, dated August 22, 1927; *The Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of Dubuque, Iowa, City Water Works*, pp. 6, 7.

[43] *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), January 28, 1920.

[44] *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), April 7, 14, 1920.

[45] See a petition sent to the City Manager League at Mason City, dated February 14, 1927, and signed by members of Dubuque's first city manager council protesting against alleged misstatements by J. C. Lewis in a speech at Mason City. This document is now on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City. See also *Yearbook of the City Managers' Association*, 1921, p. 19, 1922, p. 26; White's *The City Manager*, pp. 114–122.

cations necessary for a first city manager. He is fearless and aggressive, with an undaunted determination in the face of obstacles. He is characterized as a doer rather than as a compromiser. In Dubuque he was able to place public opinion squarely behind the new régime by a series of immediate accomplishments no less worthy than spectacular. It is inevitable that a man with such a positive personality should also antagonize some persons. Mr. Carr and the city manager plan had their enemies. One $50,000 libel case brought by a paving contractor for alleged damaging remarks by Mr. Carr was not dismissed until the summer of 1927, after the defendant had been kept in suspense by continuances, delays, and expensive trips back to Dubuque.

On another occasion Mr. Carr's opponents slandered his character by calling him vile names and making accusations of an exceedingly unfavorable nature. The manager defended the administration and himself against this onslaught at a meeting of the Good Government League, an organization having for its purpose the political defense of the city manager plan. This procedure was criticized by the Home Rule Club, an opposition association, which claimed that Mr. Carr's action was in violation of the statute prohibiting the manager from participating in any political activity. His friends defended his speech on the ground that it was merely made in defense of his own character, not as a political maneuver. Nevertheless, an indictment was brought against Mr. Carr in the district court for violation of the statute prohibiting political activity, but the case was eventually dismissed when the district court of Dubuque County sustained Mr. Carr's demurrer which maintained: (1) that the indictment violated that section of the State Constitution guaranteeing liberty of speech and of the press; (2) that the acts charged did not constitute a

felony presentable by indictment; (3) that the statute forbidding the city manager to engage in political activity was so uncertain and unintelligible that it did not permit the court to impose punishment; and (4) that the indictment was unauthorized and void, and the court could impose no punishment. The court merely sustained the demurrer without rendering an opinion. The case was perfunctorily appealed by the State to the Iowa Supreme Court which, on November 28, 1925, affirmed the decision of the district court. This decision raised grave doubts as to the constitutionality of the section prohibiting a manager from presenting facts as to his administration, especially when these statements are made in reply to charges made by the opposition. In the *Code of 1924* this section was amended omitting the reference to the punishment of political activity as a misdemeanor, but retaining the provision that a manager taking part in election contests is to be removed from office.[46]

In June, 1925, Mr. Carr was appointed city manager of Fort Worth, Texas, a post which he still holds at a salary of $15,000 per year in a city two and one-half times as large as Dubuque.[47] His successor in Dubuque was C. E. Douglas who was chosen manager of Dubuque, in July, 1925, at an initial salary of $8000 per year. He had previously held positions as city manager of Lawton, Oklahoma, and Newport News, Virginia.[48] On March 15, 1928, O. A. Kratz of Astoria, Oregon, succeeded Mr. Douglas who had resigned to enter the contracting business. Mr. Kratz, who is a

[46] *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), April 2, 1924; *City Manager Magazine*, Vol. VI, p. 32; *National Municipal Review*, Vol. XII, p. 264; State of Iowa *v.* O. E. Carr, District Court of Iowa, Dubuque County, Criminal Case No. 5083, transcript on file with State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City.

[47] *Public Management*, Vol. IX, p. 280.

[48] *City Manager Magazine*, Vol. VII, p. 22; *Public Management*, Vol. IX, p. 277.

graduate in civil engineering of Michigan State College at Lansing, had previously worked as construction engineer on the Panama Canal and had participated with General Gorgas as sanitary engineer in the clean-up of the zone. After returning to the States he served as bridge engineer for the Canadian Bridge Company and as city engineer for several cities. In 1922 he was selected city manager of La Grande, Oregon. In January, 1923, he became city manager of Astoria, Oregon, just after a terrible fire destroyed about forty of the most important blocks of the city with a loss of $14,000,000. The phenomenal successes of Mr. Kratz in rebuilding a badly damaged city, together with his varied experience, prompted the Dubuque commissioners to choose him among some thirty applicants. His initial salary was fixed at $8500.[49]

PERSONNEL

Members of the municipal force in Dubuque quite naturally were somewhat apprehensive as to the security of their tenure under the new order. No wholesale dismissal followed, however. The present city clerk, auditor, engineer, manager of the waterworks, waterworks engineer, city solicitor, and many others were office-holders under the old order and are now enthusiastic supporters of the city manager plan.[50]

There were some dismissals. The payroll was reduced by $2500 per month through the elimination of unessential positions.[51] It is probable, however, that more of those on the payroll eight years ago have been retained in the city's service than would have been under the spoils system of the

[49] *The Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal* (Dubuque), January 31, February 5, 1928.

[50] The writer visited Dubuque and interviewed various officials and citizens on August 9 and 10, 1927, and on August 10, 1928.

[51] *Report of City of Dubuque, Iowa,* 1924, p. 5.

old mayor and council régime. The city manager went outside the city for two men. The fire underwriters demanded a reorganization of the fire department and suggested the employment of Mr. Fisher of Jacksonville, Tennessee, as chief. A building inspector also was hired from elsewhere.

The city engineer of Dubuque wrote to the engineer of a neighboring city which was contemplating a change to the city manager form: "I can assure you as a city employee and department head for almost seven years under the City Manager Form of Government, that it is the best thing that can happen to your office and your city." He had also worked for the city prior to 1920. The chief of the fire department writes that according to his belief "the Firemen of Dubuque are given more favorable consideration by the City Manager, than are the Firemen in other cities in Iowa by their Officials." A member of the police force since 1912 states that the department "is run on the Merit system, instead of the old political pull. You do not need to be afraid of offending some Alderman's friends when you make an arrest, and being called on the *carpet for enforcing the law*".[52]

Mr. Douglas considered Dubuque too small a city for the adoption of a rigorous merit system. The organization is not so large that the manager can not know each individual and have some idea of his merit and efficiency. Vacancies can be easily filled by selecting competent men whose whereabouts and capabilities are known. The manager is also in a position to bring about the necessary dismissals. A street foreman was recently discharged for alleged payroll padding, the garage force was turned over to eliminate stock losses, and the building inspector was dismissed.

[52] Letter from City Engineer of Dubuque, dated January 24, 1927; letter from Chief of Fire Department of Dubuque, dated January 16, 1927; letter from Fred C. Seyler, dated January 23, 1927.

Prompt action in eliminating less desirable men has a healthy effect on the morale of the municipal force and is an essential managerial prerogative. The members of the police and fire departments with the exception of the chief are, of course, under statutory civil service rules. Mr. Kratz also is only lukewarm to civil service rules as affecting a city of the size of Dubuque.

As a matter of form the council makes appointments anew each fiscal year. The confirmation of the manager's appointees does not give any legal sanction, for the manager is supposed to have, and in Dubuque does have, entire freedom of action in this respect. "Although the Iowa statute provides that city employees appointed by the council and those appointed by the manager shall hold office at the pleasure of the council and manager respectively, reappointments are made at the beginning of each fiscal year."[53]

MUNICIPAL FINANCE

Bonded Indebtedness.— On April 1, 1920, the general indebtedness of the city of Dubuque amounted to $1,104,823.39. By March 31, 1927, this had been increased to $1,342,913.41 to which may be added $282,000 of dock bonds classified as municipal industry bonds, but for which a tax has been levied. Water bonds to the amount of $354,500 are gradually being retired out of profits. During the year ending March 31, 1928, however, $52,000 of general bonds were cancelled without issuing others, leaving the general bonds outstanding at the reduced figure of $1,290,913.41.[54] The enemies of city manager government have seized upon this increased debt as an example of its extravagance and

[53] *The Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal* (Dubuque), April 6, 1927, p. 4.

[54] Statement of Manager C. E. Douglas to the press, March 27, 1927; *Report of City Auditor of Dubuque,* April 1, 1927, to March 31, 1928.

proof of its failure. Most of the citizens of Dubuque, however, regard this expenditure as a justifiable investment. Every dollar borrowed since 1920 has been put into some new improvement of which Dubuquers are proud. This has been accomplished while retiring about half of the old debt, some going back as far as 1852. It has been done without increasing the tax levy up to 1927 when dock bonds necessitated a slight increase, and the millage levy has actually been lower than immediately prior to 1920. Construction overdrafts frequently resulted where the statutory twenty-five per cent of value of adjoining property would not pay for the cost of excavation through solid stone. The result was that the city had to assume the cost of thousands of dollars worth of this excess. It is true that Dubuque's total debt is larger in dollars and cents today than in 1920, but this additional borrowing was not to make up deficits in the running expenses of the government as of old. These new bonds have been used to refund some old deficits and to build much needed improvements some of which are self supporting and are retiring their own bonds. It must also be remembered that the value of municipal possessions has increased thousands of dollars as the result of this expenditure.

A twelve mill sinking fund tax levy now in force is expected to retire all existing indebtedness in ten years. This sinking fund has existed only on paper, however. The demands for construction for the first seven years made necessary the use of these funds for other than sinking fund purposes. During the last year, however, the general bonded debt has been reduced and Mr. Kratz announces that he intends to avoid further overdrafts for improvements and to continue a debt retirement program. Already many bonds of the old régime have been retired before maturity. One such transaction involving a discount pur-

chase which saved $1945 in principal, and $47,550 in interest would have been paid on the issue had they run to maturity.[55] Every bond issue has been arranged to mature serially and a tax has been levied to take care of payments of both principal and interest even before the State law of 1927 required this procedure. A curious mathematician might care to figure the amount of interest paid by Dubuque upon the refunded issues of 1852 during the last seventy-five years. At compound interest it would probably form an endowment fund the income on which would reduce the tax levy many mills. The present city hall building, which was built in the early fifties and is rapidly becoming inadequate, had not yet been paid for in 1920. The same was true of a large sum representing public aid to railroads.[56]

The first manager council was confronted with the question of disposing of $210,138.00 worth of "loan warrants". These were obligations of the city bearing 5 per cent interest. No one knew what they were issued to pay for and they had no maturity date. They were about the size of a dollar bill and interest payments were endorsed on the back. When there was no further room for such endorsements they were called in and new ones were issued. This practice had been going on for thirty-five years without any apparent legal sanction. Banks had refused to accept them as collateral upon orders of the examiners and their market was becoming increasingly low and limited. It is exceedingly doubtful whether the city could have been made to pay them. Mr. Carr immediately disposed of them, however, by means of a $180,000 bond issue plus aid from the collection of delinquent taxes. Only $39,850 worth of these warrants

[55] *Report of City of Dubuque, Iowa,* 1924, pp. 11, 27.

[56] Clewell's *The Council-Manager Plan in Dubuque* in *Public Management,* Vol. IX, p. 152; *Report of City of Dubuque, Iowa,* 1924, p. 7.

are now outstanding and they will be retired by 1929. The city has thus been saved a very considerable sum of parasitic interest payment without an increased levy.[57]

Prior to 1920 Dubuque bonds were in ill repute and hard to dispose of among local investors. Today the citizens clamor for them. There was extremely lively bidding for a recent issue of wharf bonds, resulting in the payment of a premium of $7951.50 on a $217,000 issue at 4½ per cent. The successful bidder attributed this to Dubuque's reputation for good government.

The manager's statement to the press of March 27, 1927, summarizes very well the improvements that have resulted from recent borrowing. "Approximately 5 miles of storm sewers were installed, ranging in size from 24" to 66", excepting Bee Branch sewer which is larger. Thirty miles of water mains were laid. Forty miles of streets were paved. Rafferty's Slough and Industrial Fill at 4th Street were graded, converting approximately thirty acres of swamp lands into valuable industrial sites, part of which have already been sold. The new Rockdale Road was constructed, making a short and safe route for traffic." It should also be noted that the water improvement bonds are not being paid out of taxation. A sinking fund is being accumulated faster than it is needed. Moreover, while a tax has been levied to take care of the first few months of the new wharf bonds, it is expected that this improvement will not only retire these bonds, but also pay a considerable profit into the city treasury. In addition to this, the Rafferty Slough reclaimed lands are being sold at prices which will reimburse the city for all expenditures. Thus Dubuque is emerging from a period of expenditure on public works that has necessitated considerable healthy borrowing.

[57] Statement of Manager C. E. Douglas to the press, March 27, 1927; *Report of City Auditor of Dubuque,* April 1, 1927, to March 31, 1928.

Many of the expenditures will be self-retiring, however; and those that must be paid from taxation will be retired with a millage levy actually lower than that required for the year 1919.

Delinquent Taxes.— In 1920 thousands of dollars worth of taxes in Dubuque had not been paid. In some cases delinquencies extended back many years. As a result the feeling grew that taxes did not have to be paid and evasions were increasing, often being encouraged by the intervention of precinct politicians. This chaotic condition interfered with official compliance with the statutory procedure regarding the handling of delinquent taxes, and the public refrained from purchasing tax certificates because of lack of confidence that they had been issued in compliance with the legal technicalities required by law. Mr. Carr authorized the city to deal directly in special assessment delinquencies and a Citizens Investment Company was organized under the leadership of Councilman Brede to buy tax certificates in which the city was legally unable to deal. As a result many thousands of dollars worth were purchased and legal action commenced for their redemption. The city is realizing practically 100 per cent on all of these certificates, with the exception of one defeat in court on an action involving about $25,000. The great benefit, however, has come in the impetus toward prompt tax payment. As soon as the city purchased these old tax certificates the municipal treasury began to experience a materially increased flow of tax money. The net result increased municipal revenues about $300,000.[58] These taxes were owed in practically all cases by people who could afford to pay and many of them would have soon been outlawed.

[58] *Report of the City of Dubuque, Iowa,* 1924, p. 5; Clewell's *The Council-Manager Plan in Dubuque* in *Public Management,* Vol. IX, p. 152.

The Tax Levy.— The millage levy as of March 27, 1927, was 54.75, a reduction of 7.25 mills since 1919.[59] This has been done while the State, school, and county levies have increased. Thus in 1914 the Dubuquer paid 59.18 of his tax dollar to the city. In 1924 the city received only 38 cents of it, while in 1926 the city's share of tax money was still further reduced to 36 cents on the dollar.[60] The city tax levy for 1928 was increased to 59 3/16 mills. This increase was necessitated by a number of municipal improvements: (1) the river barge line terminal bond issue, authorized by vote of the people; (2) an increase in the general fund necessary to finance the installation of stop-and-go electrically operated traffic signals; and (3) an increased levy for the park fund for the acquisition and maintenance of the new park and tourist camp on Grand View Avenue.[61] The millage levy for 1928, however, was still less than that of 1919. The expenditures for general government for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1927, were $12,247.76 under the budget estimate and $20,639.54 less than the previous year, in spite of salary increases totaling $27,000.00.[62] Mr. Kratz has prepared a loose-leaf ledger which shows constantly the status of the several funds in percentage of annual appropriations expended as compared to percentage of time elapsed. In this way he can keep the various departments within their respective appropriations, thus enabling the city to keep up its sinking fund requirements and eventually to reduce taxes through reduced interest, a much desired goal in any city.

[59] Statement of C. E. Douglas to the press on March 27, 1927.

[60] *The Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal* (Dubuque), April 10, 1927.

[61] *The Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal* (Dubuque), July 26, 1927. The 1926 Dubuque budget is found in the same newspaper, March 12, 1926; and a distribution of municipal expenditures is found in the issue of April 24, 1927.

[62] *The Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal* (Dubuque), April 10, 1927.

Purchases.— All purchases go through the city manager's office. Bids are sought on all purchases. Notices of contemplated purchases are placed on a bulletin board in the city hall daily. Anyone can bid and the purchases go to the lowest bidder, quality and service being equal. In addition to bulletin board notice the dealers are consulted over the telephone by the manager's secretary. This system of giving all a chance was inaugurated by Mr. Kratz because he had heard complaints of favoritism under the old system whereby some attempt was supposedly being made to divide the business equally among all dealers in the city. The manager is given full leeway without council interference as long as the budget is not exceeded. Warrants are drawn without waiting for the council's approval so as to take advantage of all discounts. As a matter of practice and courtesy, however, all large and extraordinary purchases are first considered by the council.

A requisition blank is made out in four copies. The yellow original and the blue copy go to the vendor who must invoice as per the schedule contained thereon and indicate its number. The pink copy goes to the requisitioning department, and the white copy remains in the city manager's office. All purchase orders, no matter how small, are now signed by the city manager. Mr. Kratz feels that this procedure has reduced purchases merely by moral effect. When the vendor delivers the goods he delivers the original yellow copy with his invoice and retains the blue copy for his files. As soon as the material is received the man ordering it inspects it and certifies his approval on the pink copy which goes to the city manager. The invoices for a firm for any one month are gathered in the auditor's office under a single voucher to be inspected and signed by the city manager before payment. Mr. Kratz has introduced a new voucher form which allows the invoices to remain unfolded

in standard letter size so that he can swiftly but accurately inspect them at a single glance.

Accounting.— The accounting department is manned by three officers: the clerk, the auditor, and the treasurer. The clerk is appointed by the council and acts as a sort of secretary to that body, the board of health, and the board of review. He attends all council meetings and makes suitable records of all of its transactions. The auditor is appointed by and responsible to the manager. He is in general charge of municipal records. He audits each bill and turns it over to the treasurer for payment. Both the auditor and the treasurer sign warrants. The treasurer is also appointed by the manager. He has general custody of the city's funds. The waterworks has its own system of cost accounting and also handles all consumers' accounts. The water department's funds are in the custody of the general accounting office, however.

The 1927 Budget.— There was some friction in the council over the adoption of the new budget in 1927. Three councilmen insisted on retrenchment and objected to any further bond issues. It had been necessary during the previous year to fund $275,000 worth of overdrafts for municipal improvements. The council felt that it was time to halt further construction beyond budget estimates. After stirring up considerable feeling, the budget was finally reduced so as to require a tax levy of ¼ of a mill less than that of the previous year.[63] A large paving program was rejected by the council upon the presentation of remonstrance petitions.[64] The council also reduced the salaries of various city officials as follows: the manager, $400; the fire

[63] *The Dubuque Leader*, March 18, 1927.

[64] *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), February 16, 1927.

chief, $400; the city solicitor, $300; the police judge, $200; the engineer, $180; and building inspector, $300.[65] These economies were put through by the three newer members of the council, one of them a member of the Dubuque Trades and Labor Congress. Mayor Harlan G. Melchoir and Councilman Edward Schrempf, also a labor member, were very much opposed to such action. The mayor said that the salary cuts were not justified.[66] Councilman Schrempf filed his resignation and remained absent from council meetings,[67] but he was finally induced to withdraw his resignation and return.[68] Enemies of the city manager plan seized upon this controversy and petitions for an abandonment election were soon circulating,[69] but a sufficient number of signatures was not secured and it is reported that the project was abandoned. Members of the council who voted for the various cuts were, however, endorsed by the Good Government League as recognized friends of the plan at the time of their election in 1926[70] and the incident is not now regarded as in any way endangering or reflecting upon the manager or the city manager plan of government. The salaries of the officers reduced have since been raised, in some cases to their former level.

PUBLIC WORKS

Followers of municipal affairs have watched with considerable interest the application of scientific management

[65] *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), February 16, April 1, 1927; *The Dubuque Leader*, April 1, 1927.

[66] *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), April 1, 1927.

[67] *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), April 2, 1927.

[68] *The Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal* (Dubuque), April 7, 1927. The issue of April 3rd contains a long statement by Mayor Melchior upholding the city manager plan.

[69] *The Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal* (Dubuque), April 10, 1927.

[70] See an editorial in *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), of March 31, 1926,

to the establishment and maintenance of public works. It is estimated that thousands of dollars have been saved at Dubuque by economies thus effected. The street superintendent now reports directly to the city manager. This arrangement leaves the city engineer free to devote all his time to engineering problems as they arise. A complaint system has also been installed. All complaints come to the manager's desk in duplicate, one copy is referred to the proper department head with orders either to do the work, or investigate and report back, the duplicate remaining on the manager's desk until the complaint has been adjusted. The city manager holds frequent consultations with the street superintendent and city engineer where maintenance problems affect improvements.

Streets.— It is claimed that in 1919 there was not one thoroughfare completely paved across the city of Dubuque. Now there are several which make up a part of the upwards of 120 miles of paved streets traversing the city. About one-third of this program was laid during the five years following 1920, at a price that is claimed to have saved the abutting property owners a great deal of money because of Manager Carr's insistence on open bidding, a practice not always used in Dubuque heretofore. Indeed, complications arising from resentment toward its efficient operation are alleged to be responsible for the libel suit hanging over Mr. Carr for almost two years after his departure from Dubuque. It is claimed that paving contracts awarded by Mr. Carr in 1924 carried price schedules from 75 cents to 95 cents per yard cheaper than in neighboring cities.[71]

also Councilman Earl Yount's denial of having signed a statement opposing the city manager plan in the same paper on February 24, 1927.

[71] *City Manager Magazine,* Vol. VI, p. 18. For dismissal of libel case see *The Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal* (Dubuque), May 10, 1927.

Competition on the bidding was induced by advertising for bids for various types of paving. "In that way the hard top bidder had to cut to meet the soft top prices and vice versa. Some very spirited bidding resulted. With all the saving to the city, the contractors still had a good profit."[72]

One of the most notable improvements of recent years is the building of Rockdale Road. Ingress and egress to Dubuque on the south formerly was confined to a long, narrow, and poorly paved thoroughfare which traversed railroads, hills, and the most undesirable sections of the city. In cooperation with the State Highway Commission the city planned and constructed a new approach to the city which provides a smoothly graded entrance while considerably reducing the traveling distance. Construction involved the cutting away of a limestone cliff at a cost to the city in excess of $100,000 in addition to the State expenditure. Supporters of the project insist that this improvement will yield enormous dividends to Dubuque.

Street construction, as well as almost all departments of municipal administration in Dubuque, is complicated by the topography of the city. The Mississippi River bottoms afford a considerable acreage for industrial purposes. The retail section is built on a gentle rise from which huge limestone bluffs rise abruptly two hundred feet to the residence district. While these cliffs make Dubuque probably the most picturesque city in Iowa, they also present problems in the construction of public works which do not confront the prairie municipalities. On the other hand there is some compensation in the fact that they furnish cheap construction material.

Manager Kratz has inaugurated a system of street improvements which demands that all of the various types of

[72] Clewell's *The Council-Manager Plan in Dubuque* in *Public Management*, Vol. IX, p. 342.

construction be done at the same time. Among other economies, this results in tearing the streets up only once. He has also perfected a concrete mixture for pavement which is expected to overcome defects in wearing capacity formerly thought to be inherent in local limestone. He has moreover introduced a type of gutter that will permit the construction of private driveways with much greater facility. Mr. Kratz is strongly in favor of installing a municipal paving plant which will permit the laying of a two-inch slab of asphaltic concrete on the less frequented streets. Such a plant saved a great deal of money at his former city.

The Municipal Garage.— Under the Carr régime the city purchased a garage with the proceeds of the sale of an unnecessary fire hall.[73] It is a spacious and modern building which would be regarded as good property by any investor. This institution houses and cares for 26 pieces of motor equipment not including those of the fire department which maintains its own motors. Mr. Douglas claims that the municipal garage is one of the city's best money-makers — in the sense that equipment upkeep is handled more cheaply than if performed by private garages. Superior care thus keeps machines operating long after their normal replacement periods have expired. There has recently been installed a depreciation accounting system by which every minute of a truck's use is accounted for. It is hoped that as the municipal debt is decreased funds will be available so that prefigured operating costs may enable the auditor to set aside depreciation funds for each vehicle so that its replacement can be provided for when it wears out. Every car belonging to the city is given a thorough inspection once a week.

[73] *Report of City of Dubuque, Iowa*, 1924, p. 5.

The garage is manned by a superintendent and two mechanics. The superintendent keeps a record of the time each vehicle is in use together with a minute history of its cost and condition. In this way he keeps tab on practically every piece of movable equipment used in the public works. It was formerly impossible to keep an account of stock. Things were in the habit of disappearing in the manner in which the man of the street popularly supposes public business to be run. A complete turnover in help together with the inauguration of the recording system described above has, however, entirely relieved this situation. Where gasoline was formerly lost at the rate of thirty gallons per day, it is now handled without loss.

Rafferty Slough Improvement.— A few blocks south of the business district and near the Mississippi River there existed until very recently an unsightly and unhealthy marsh known as Rafferty's Slough. Under the city manager régime this has been filled with sand pumped from the river. In this manner approximately thirty acres of property valuable for industrial purposes have been reclaimed at a cost of $140,000.[74] It was valued at $156,882 in the report of the examiner from the State Auditor's office for the year ending March 31, 1926. This land is being sold for industrial purposes at figures approximating the cost of the fill. Already several pieces have been disposed of. Industrial Fill Number Two, sometimes known as Fourth Street Fill, reclaimed about five acres adjacent to the highway across the river bridge.

The Municipal Wharf.— Dubuque has built a huge wharf and river warehouse in contemplation of the revival of Mississippi River freight traffic. The electorate has

[74] *Report of City of Dubuque, Iowa,* 1924, p. 11.

voted $282,000[75] worth of bonds for this purpose and construction was completed during the summer of 1928. The wharf is under the jurisdiction of an independent dock commission. Although a tax has been levied to take care of the bonds issued for this improvement, it is expected that they will eventually be retired from dock receipts. The city bears no part of the operating or maintenance costs; it receives 15 cents per ton net on all freight handled in addition to warehouse charges. The construction of a municipal grain elevator for river traffic is under consideration. A surprising volume of freight is already going through the terminal and Dubuquers are quite enthusiastic over the prospects of an imminent river revival.

City Hall Improvement.— The city hall built in the early 50's had been allowed to deteriorate for years. It was unsuitable for city offices, a market in the first place, and every administration planned for a new building. The council manager administration, when it made its financial survey, found that not a single one of the old City Hall bonds had been paid. They had been refunded three times. A new building was out of the question. So the fifteen old stoves heating the building were replaced with furnace heat; the old leaking gas lights were taken out and electric lights substituted. The building was, and is, unsuitable and inadequate but it will be made to serve until the city can afford modern offices.[76]

Recreation.— The city supports an all-year recreation program and is about to assume the expense of a full-time director. In the summer eight supervised playgrounds are

[75] *Auditor's Report for City of Dubuque,* for April 1, 1927, to March 31, 1928.

[76] *Report of City of Dubuque, Iowa,* 1924, p. 7.

largely attended. A municipal bathing beach is very popular. In the winter the municipal athletic field is flooded for hosts of enthusiastic skaters.[77] City Manager Kratz acts in a supervisory capacity over this activity.

Parks.— Although the parks are under the supervision of an independent board, the city manager always meets with that body and enters actively into its deliberations. This often leads to a coöperative pooling of resources that is mutually advantageous. Eagle Point Park affords a view of the Mississippi River that is well worth the notice of any Iowan. From a two hundred foot limestone bluff one may view the father of waters for many miles and gaze upon three American Commonwealths.

The Water Department.— The city of Dubuque purchased the waterworks from its private owners in 1900 for a consideration of $545,000.[78] It had been under the supervision of an independent water board, was free of debt, and was being quite efficiently operated. The old board had been ultra-conservative, however, and the department was in need of many improvements. "Pumping stations were old and not fire-proof. The equipment was worn and becoming obsolete; water supply was low, storage reservoirs were uncovered. Thirty streets that had sanitary sewers were without water mains, and a large number of petitions were on hand asking for water connections to their property."[79]

A survey of the National Board of Fire Underwriters placed the city in a rather high rate class. Under the city

[77] Douglas's *Dubuque's All-Year Recreation Program* in *Public Management*, Vol. IX, p. 92.

[78] *Annual Report of the Dubuque City Water Works*, 1927, p. 5.

[79] *Annual Report of the Dubuque City Water Works*, 1927, p. 8.

manager régime $631,039 has been spent in improvements on the waterworks and as a result Dubuque property owners have been saved $50,000 per year in insurance premiums. To cover these improvements only $375,000 in bonds were issued, the remainder coming out of the earnings of the department. Today practically every home in Dubuque has access to the city water and the extensions completed during the last seven years are adequate to take care of a 100 per cent growth in population. The bonds are being retired serially by funds provided through a sinking fund into which the department pays $2700 each month. Already this sinking fund is accumulating faster than it is needed and the surplus is being invested in bonds of the city of Dubuque. None of the indebtedness is being paid out of taxation. On March 31, 1928, the water plant was valued at $1,512,371.08 of which $1,287,114.98 represents the city's proprietary interest. Thus the net worth has been increased $745,114.98 over the purchase price, every cent of which has been accumulated out of department earnings.[80]

Under the city manager régime the stations have been made fireproof. The Eagle Point station is housed in a new building with most modern equipment. Although the steam auxiliary equipment is ready for use in an emergency, pumping is now done by electrically operated pumps. A favorable off-peak power rate of one cent per K.W.H. has been accorded the city. There have been erected a 7½ million gallon reservoir, a 600,000 gallon standpipe, a new fireproof booster station, and extensive repairs and replacements have been made.[81] By March 31, 1926, the following distribution equipment was in use:

[80] *Annual Report of the Dubuque City Water Works,* 1927, p. 8, 1928, p. 11.

[81] A statement of the growth of the water department at Dubuque is contained in *The Telegraph-Herald,* March 20, 1927. A valuation statement is in the same paper for April 20, 1927.

98 miles of mains, 40 per cent increase since 1920
698 fire hydrants, 56 per cent increase since 1920
1665 valves, 77 per cent increase since 1920
8249 meters, 46 per cent increase since 1920
99¾ per cent of the pay rates figured on meter readings

In 1928 bookkeeping transactions involving fire hydrant rent paid to the waterworks and interest payment to the city on the amount of the original bonds were abolished.

The superintendent of the water department, J. W. McEvoy, and the engineer, J. W. Straub, are the same men who held those positions under the old water board. The advantage of having the water department under the city manager has been that decisions can be made quickly through immediate conference with the manager instead of waiting for the dilatory procedure of a board meeting.

As in all well-run municipal utilities the Dubuque water department keeps an accurate record of all operating costs. The report of the examiner from the State Auditor's office for the year ending March 31, 1926, said that the "city should be proud of its water works and the showing it is making."

POLICE

Police Court.— Prior to 1920 justices of the peace functioned as police judges. In 1920 only $1675.50 in fines and costs were collected. By 1922 this had been increased to $12,652.10 and in 1924 to $18,209.78,[82] much more than enough to take care of the salary of both the manager and the police judge. When one considers that the population of Dubuque was virtually stationary during this period, no conclusion can be reached other than that there must have formerly been great laxity somewhere. The *Dubuque Times-Journal* comments as follows:

[82] *Report of City of Dubuque, Iowa,* 1924, p. 49.

There are those, however, who have paid these fines, because they violated the law! Many of them are loud in expressing preference for the old free and easy condition. Some 48 proprietors of "soft drink parlors" have had their licenses revoked on account of selling intoxicating liquors! Do you think they favor the city manager plan?

Again it is well to ask why and probe deeply when a man opposes the city manager plan. There's a reason usually, a personal one.

Some soft drink parlor proprietors have pled for a second chance and promised to do better. They have backed their promises with a $500 deposit with the city manager. Three of these men broke their promises. They have enriched the city treasury by $1,500. In individual cases the new form of government is, to say it mildly, discomforting. These men object to the city manager plan, but there's a reason in their cases.[83]

The Police Force.— In 1920 the police of Dubuque made 698 arrests. In 1924 the number had increased to 2034. In 1914 over 60 per cent of the arrests made were for intoxication while the percentage was only 20 per cent in 1923. "At the same time it is probable that many of those arrested for intoxication in 1923 would not have been considered intoxicated in 1914. While prohibition does not prevent drunkenness yet it does seem to have a strong deterrent effect."[84] This apparent increase in police activity was accomplished with an actual reduction in the number of officers and a static population. From 1920 to 1924 the number of lodgers harbored by the police increased approximately four-fold.

During the year 1924 Dubuque thieves succeeded in retaining only 7 per cent of their loot. The police recovered 55 stolen automobiles out of 59 reported stolen. The de-

[83] *American Municipalities,* Vol. XLV, p. 79; *Sunday Times-Journal* (Dubuque), February 18, 1923.

[84] *Report of City of Dubuque, Iowa,* 1924, p. 49.

partment's motor equipment consists of three automobiles, one of which is used to patrol outlying districts, and two motorcycles. "All men work in eight hour shifts, and are equipped with up to date regulation revolvers. Target practice is held regularly once a month. Meetings are held frequently for discussion of police work."[85]

The following letter indicates what a veteran member of the police force thinks of the city manager plan:

In 1914 and up to the time the City Manager Form of Gov't. went into effect, I was on the same beat from 6 A. M. until 7 P. M., seven days a week, with a vacation period of ten days a year. The night patrolman worked from 7 P. M. until 6 A. M. and the same number of days, and same vacation period. We are now working in three shifts of eight hours, and every man on the Dept. has one day of rest each week, and 15 days vacation each year with pay, and also with pay for each day off every week. And we owe it all to the City Manager Plan. We are being paid a salary of $140.00 a month and a chance to make extra at dances, etc. As compared to the old days at $90.00 per month. The Efficiency of the Dept. has increased to a *very very* large extent since this system went into effect. The men are for it — to a man, and this also includes the head of the Dept. Chief Giellis, for now no alderman or Ward Heeler can dictate to him, for he is the head of the Police Dept. and no one dictates to him, and a chief any city could be proud of, for the Dept. is run on the merit system, instead of the old political pull. You do not need to be afraid of offending some alderman's friend when you make an arrest, and being called on the *Carpet for Enforcing the law.* . . . But things of that kind are in the discard, and none of us need hesitate in making an arrest, where the laws are being violated or broken, but to be sure that we are right, and then go ahead, for we are backed up by the administration to a man. We surely have an up to date Police Dept. Have Target Practice at stated Periods and all have the same type and make of gun (colts 38 Cal. Police Positive), where before there was an array from 22 cal. to 45 cal. and some had not been fired for months, and failed to work when needed, but that is a thing of the

[85] *Report of City of Dubuque, Iowa,* 1924, p. 47.

past, for we have gun inspection at the same time we have target practice, also uniform inspection, which was never done under the old system. It used to be the more greasy the uniform, the more service stripes, for you could judge the length of service by the clothes.[86]

The Fire Department.— If Dubuquers are proud of one thing it is their fire department. In the old days there was a fireman's strike every winter because the department funds were exhausted. Joseph W. Fisher, the man appointed fire chief by Manager Carr, was recommended to Dubuque by the National Board of Fire Underwriters. From 1907 to 1918 he had been a member and officer of the Nashville, Tennessee, fire department. He came to Dubuque from Jacksonville, Tennessee, where he had been chief of the department maintained there by the Federal government for the Old Hickory Powder plant. Thus two fire chiefs in Iowa manager cities came from positions charged with the protection of war supplies for the national government. It takes an exceptional man to manage firemen. He must be above all a tactful disciplinarian. Firemen have much idle time on their hands and they must not be allowed to use this leisure in such a manner as to become lazy and soft. They must be at all times prepared to meet an emergency that may require supreme effort coupled with utmost courage, and to maintain their efforts for days at a time. These conditions make the fire department a knotty problem in management.

As far as results are concerned, the Dubuque fire insurance premiums have been reduced $50,000 or $60,000 per year since the advent of the city manager. The average fire loss in Dubuque for nine years previous to 1921 was

[86] Letter from Fred C. Seyler addressed to R. L. Jackson, President of the City Manager League of Mason City, dated January 23, 1927, now on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City.

$275,373 per year. For the three years prior to 1924 it was $45,448.04. For the year ending March 31, 1928, it was $27,298.89.[87]

A system of building inspection by firemen is carried on and is credited with a large share of credit for the reduction in fire loss. Regular department drills call upon the men to simulate actual fire conditions. In 1921 a department school was organized. The school is given a large share of the honor for the increased efficiency of the firemen.

Health.— Dubuque was recently credited in press reports with having one of the lowest mortality rates in Iowa. The city manager régime coöperated with the county in establishing a department of health under a full-time physician. Unhappily the county has recently withdrawn its support but the city is carrying on the work in the best manner possible with the inadequate funds at its disposal. The number of quarantines and communicable diseases has been materially decreased as compared with former years as a result of a campaign of supervision and education. A venereal clinic receives only those cases unable to afford the services of a private physician. The general government coöperates with the board of education in carrying on a school nursing service. The municipal laboratory is estimated to save approximately $4000 per year over what private analysis fees would cost the city. A woman inspector of food and restaurants is reported to have accomplished results very much worth while. A part time employee has enthusiastically and efficiently entered into the work of inspecting both milk and dairies. It is to be hoped that adequate means of financing this work will be found and thus Dubuque's enviable health record may be continued.

[87] *Report of City of Dubuque, Iowa,* 1924, p. 9; *The Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal* (Dubuque), April 15, 1928.

CONCLUSION

Public Opinion.— In addition to interviewing several of Dubuque's prominent citizens, the writer has had the privilege of access to the correspondence files of the Mason City Manager League which contain many letters from residents of Dubuque. The opinion is unanimous that the city manager régime has been a decided success. A veteran member of the police force has already been quoted at length. An editor states: "The city manager form of government is very much of a success in Dubuque — a success in every way and I believe it is here to stay. It lifted Dubuque out of what threatened to be its graveyard and put it on its feet. For that the citizens are grateful." A manufacturer says that "it is absolutely the best thing that ever struck our city." Still another factory executive states that "it is the most efficient method of controlling the factions, details and all other transactions coming under the supervision and direct action of the City Officials." A hotel proprietor writes: "Our city manager form of government is the greatest blessing that ever came to our city." A prominent banker feels that the "city manager form of government has done more to make Dubuque a city than any other factor or influence in its history." A dealer in building material has "no hesitancy in making the statement that the tax-payers of the City of Dubuque have been getting more for their money since the City Council Manager form is in effect here, than they ever did before, and the affairs of our city are operated on a business basis the same as any corporation would want to operate its business". The Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce writes: "During the last several years I have served as Secretary of Chambers of Commerce in the South and West and it is my experience that those cities that operate under the Council-Manager Form of Government have gone forward

at a much more progressive rate than those operating under the antiquated system which is fast being abolished by progressive cities."

Elections.— Another editor writes that "in every city election, bond issue election or other contest here since 1920 the faction favorable to the city manager form of government has swept through to a decisive victory at the polls. . . . There have been some contests that appeared to be 'hot' while they were going on, but the count of the votes showed that there was nothing to them. The people favorable to the present régime were always overwhelmingly in the majority. You don't hear any opposition talk in Dubuque anymore, for the opposition seems to be effectively squelched."[88]

In the spring of 1927 it was reported that petitions were being circulated for an election to abandon the city manager charter.[89] Some months have passed without any such election having materialized and the writer has been informed that the instigators have abandoned the move because of lack of signatures.

The Press.— The *Times-Journal,* a daily paper which recently consolidated with the *Telegraph-Herald,* was one of the early agitators and friends of the city manager plan. The *Telegraph-Herald* was unfriendly during the adoption campaign,[90] but accepted the decision of the polls with good grace. An editorial of March 30, 1924, evidenced a complete conversion:

[88] This correspondence has been placed on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City. See also a letter from Charles E. Ward in *American City,* Vol. XXXIII, p. 294.

[89] *The Telegraph-Herald and Times-Journal* (Dubuque), April 10, 1927.

[90] *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), January 25, 1920.

Old Julien Dubuque made hardly any repairs on his home, and when he did the work was expensive and often inadequate. If a window glass was broken he stuffed rags in the hole and hoped for spring. If the house wife urged construction of a cess-pool he dug a make-shift affair and hurried back to his pipe and his beer. He was more interested in politics than improving his home.

But for some reason, after he invited a board of supervisors and a general manager to take charge of his house and put his grounds in order, a change for the better was immediately manifest. The old structure was repaired and repainted. He got sewers, fire apparatus, better sidewalks, his debts were gradually paid and interest payments reduced. And all of this cost him but little more than his way of living from hand to mouth, continually dogged by the money lenders.

In an editorial of March 28, 1926, the same paper says that the progress of Dubuque under the city manager plan has been so pronounced that old-timers returning to the city are astonished.

Labor's Attitude.— It is claimed that the city manager plan in Dubuque was adopted largely because of favorable sentiment aroused among the laboring classes. Labor has always had representatives on the council and three members of that body are today representative of labor. The same will be true of the new council of 1929. In the summer of 1926, however, certain crafts became disaffected through an incident arising from a contractor's refusal to hire union labor in the construction of an addition to the Canfield Hotel. The labor groups declared that the construction did not comply with the law. Several conferences were held between local labor leaders, John C. Lewis, a labor official from Des Moines, the local and State building inspectors, and the city officials. There seemed to be a general admission that the construction did not comply with the law in certain respects, but the hotel owners offered to

make the necessary changes. The city council told the manager to find the law and enforce it.[91]

A conference between the city building commissioner, the State sanitary engineer, and the city solicitor reached an agreement as to the changes required by law. Labor demanded that the hotel be closed during these alterations. A letter from the proprietors to the city manager expressed good faith; said that the building was built under the supervision of the building commissioner with the feeling that the law was being complied with; that the management now agreed that certain changes were necessary and was willing to make them; that according to the voluntary admission of the most aggressive labor leaders the unions were not particularly interested in enforcing the law and would call off all further agitation if the contractor would hire union labor; that there was no provision in the law authorizing a closing of the hotel during alterations; and that the owners had no quarrel with union labor, that class of working men having been used throughout with the exception of carpenters.[92] The alterations were made without the closing of the hotel, but the affair evoked some criticism from Mr. Lewis and from a certain element of union men in Dubuque.

The writer is unable to say whether this defection of a portion of the labor group will have any effect on the tenure of the city manager plan in Dubuque. Most of the opposition during the Mason City campaign came from Mr. Lewis from Des Moines. A letter received from a member of the Dubuque Trades and Labor Congress, written on August 8, 1927, states: "I do not believe that I am exaggerating when I say that the great majority of the laboring men and women of Dubuque favor the city manager plan and believe that it is a great improvement in the conduct of our city

[91] *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), August 4, 1926.

[92] *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), August 7, 1926.

affairs." The labor members of the city council emphatically declare their allegiance to the city manager plan. Not one person with whom the writer came in contact expressed any fear that the Canfield Hotel affair had endangered the city manager plan.

MASON CITY

Mason City changed from the commission form of government to the charter city manager organization at a special election held on February 21, 1927. The new council was elected at the regular biennial municipal election and took office in the following April. P. F. Hopkins, city manager at Ames, accepted appointment as the first city manager of Mason City on April 12th[93] and assumed his new duties on June 1st.

CAMPAIGN FOR ADOPTION

The adoption of the charter city manager plan in Mason City was in no small measure due to the efforts of R. L. Jackson, a resident of Mason City, who combines in an unusual degree the humanitarian and liberal sympathies of one who is looking constantly forward with an appreciation of the practical difficulties confronting those who strive for political and social betterment. A City Manager League was organized with Mr. Jackson as president; Fred J. Crawford as vice president; Inez Kinney, secretary, and W. L. Patton, treasurer. This organization sent hundreds of letters to city manager cities in all parts of the country in an effort to secure the sentiment of cross sections of the communities which had actually operated under the plan. Efforts were made to secure the opinion of as many different types of individuals, and members of as many different

[93] *Ames Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1927; *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, February 22, 1927.

businesses, trades, and professions as possible so that the campaign committee might be armed with answers to all possible objections. Letters poured in from all parts of the United States,[94] which were quite uniformly friendly toward the city manager plan and generally indicated its successful operation.

The Mason City Globe Gazette, the only daily paper in the city, was friendly toward the plan, although it did not employ daily editorials in furtherance of the cause. It gave its columns freely to the reporting of the various meetings and debates and W. Earl Hall, the managing editor, entered enthusiastically into the campaign.

There was not much difficulty in securing the number of signatures required to call the special election on the question of adoption. Over 2600 signers responded while only about 1800 were required. The commissioners were not any too anxious to call the election, but they could hardly find grounds for refusal in the face of a sufficient petition. The election was accordingly set for Monday, February 19th. The most heated and interesting part of the campaign took place during the week prior to that date.

The committee circulated pamphlets urging registration. Meetings were held at various schoolhouses and other places where speakers discussed the merits and demerits of the proposed organization. Service clubs and civic organizations did not enter the campaign, but the League of Women Voters was one organization which openly rendered aid to the movement. The attitude of the electorate seemed rather indifferent. As in many other such elections, many who voted for adoption did so without any great enthusiasm. They seemed to feel that conditions could not pos-

[94] Through the courtesy of R. L. Jackson these letters have been presented to the State Historical Society of Iowa and are preserved in that organization's library at Iowa City.

sibly be worse and that there was a chance for improvement in the new order.

One of the most interesting features of the campaign was the opposition of union labor. It had been claimed that labor had been friendly to the plan in Dubuque where it had representatives on the council and that it had entered into a program of hearty coöperation at the time of adoption. At Mason City, however, one of the features of the campaign was a debate between John C. Lewis, President of the Iowa Federation of Labor, and M. H. Czizek, city solicitor of Dubuque, the discussion centering about the success or lack of success of the plan at Dubuque.[95] Mr. Lewis opposed the city manager plan and Mr. Czizek spoke in favor of it.

The campaign was largely without sensational issues. Mason City was in a precarious financial condition: the budget had not been balanced for some years. Recurring deficits were met by warrants which were periodically funded by the issue of judgment bonds. As a result the city was said to have exceeded the legal debt limit. The city manager plan was urged largely as a corrective for these financial ills by a group probably representative of the great American middle class. Something had to be done to bolster up the municipal financial situation.

The election resulted in the adoption of the city manager plan by a vote of 1920 to 1413 — a very light vote. The affirmative poll numbered 700 less than the total of petition signatures.

The election results indicate that the voters did not enthusiastically endorse the new scheme. It has a period of

[95] *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, February 17, 18, 19, 1927. The letter favoring the plan and signed by 35 members of the Dubuque Trades and Labor Congress is preserved in the files of the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City. An account of this debate is published in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, February 19, 1927, and *The Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque), February 22, 1927.

six years in which to justify itself.[96] In a post-election editorial the *Globe Gazette* expressed the belief "that the city manager plan, which has proved successful in scores of other places, would do as much for Mason City. . . . It is a human contrivance, however, and like all things human has its imperfections. A lively interest in municipal affairs on the part of the public will be its best guarantee of success. It will be what Mason City makes it."[97]

THE FIRST COUNCIL

In the estimation of Mr. Hopkins,[98] the new city manager of Mason City, the council is the most important link in the chain of the city manager organization. If a council is disposed toward constant interference in the minutiae of administration and is inclined to be jealous of the manager's prerogatives, the spirit of the plan will be defeated.

There were about twenty candidates for five council positions in the first election under the new plan. Labor chose to put in the field an entire ticket for all five places, instead of concentrating on one or two as in Dubuque. As a result no labor candidate was elected. E. S. Selby, the first mayor, is treasurer of the Decker packing concern. F. C. Eslick is in the transfer and storage business and has charge of the local yellow taxi lines. Herman Knudson is proprietor of the Kemble green houses at Mason City. L. P. Courshon is in the auto accessory and radio jobbing business. George Barrett is a young World War veteran who is engaged in a high class and extensive food and grocery business.

No member of the first council has had previous experi-

[96] *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, February 22, 1927.

[97] *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, February 22, 1927.

[98] The writer interviewed Mr. Hopkins at Mason City on July 14, 1927, and on August 2 and 3, 1928.

ence in city affairs. None was elected on a particular platform. The only issue in the campaign hinged on whether the manager should be a resident or non-resident, at the time of his selection, but even it seems to have failed to become decisive.

THE FIRST MANAGER'S PROBLEM

At Ames the manager's problems were largely of an engineering nature. At Mason City he was called upon to correct ills which were more administrative and financial in character.

Mason City had been under the commission form of government since 1913. Since that time it has grown very rapidly. It is primarily an industrial city with extensive cement, brick and tile, and meat packing establishments. A large variety of jobbers serve a fruitful territory on five railroads.

During the recent period of growth those in charge of municipal administration have tried to provide for the extension of services without resorting to heavy increases in the tax levy. When improvements were undertaken they had to be paid in warrants which would accumulate until they were finally funded in judgment bonds. These judgment bonds represent the expenditure over and above revenues for general housekeeping for a period of years. To illustrate this condition let the reader assume that the head and provider for a home and family spends for family upkeep more than his income. His creditors finally sue and obtain judgment and the debts are refunded at the bank where he must pay interest on them and supposedly make some arrangement for the payment of the principal at maturity. This goes on until finally his credit at the bank will stand no further indebtedness. He must then either inaugurate drastic retrenchments to enable him to live with-

in his income and meet his obligations or he must succumb to receivership or bankruptcy. In this case the city manager was, in effect, designated as receiver for the city of Mason City.

On April 1, 1927, there were outstanding against Mason City $1,135,504.79[99] in bonds, of which $369,000 represented judgment bonds and $147,000 bonds issued for general expenses. The legislation of the Forty-second General Assembly prevents any such lax financial condition in the future. From now on bonds must be serial and taxes must be levied for their retirement when issued.[100] In addition to this, about $50,000 worth of unfunded warrants were inherited from the old régime and they could not be legally funded because the city's legal debt limit would have been exceeded. The other bonds are issued against the waterworks and for other improvements for which the city supposedly possesses corresponding assets. This means that fully half of the huge municipal debt represents overdrafts of former administrations.

Another instance of lax financial administration is evidenced in $422,000 worth of 5½ and 6 per cent waterworks bonds issued for ten and twenty years and *not callable* until maturity. One series must bear interest at 6 per cent until 1940. Some attempt is being made to buy them from the holders, but there is little inclination to give up a long term municipal bond bearing 6 per cent interest. The incentive for trying to build up a sinking fund to retire these obligations at maturity is lacking because the Brookhart-Lovrien Law takes all interest on municipal funds to reimburse State and local governmental losses in closed Iowa banks.

[99] See statement of outstanding bonds in *Annual Report of Mason City*, 1927, pp. 30, 31.

[100] *Laws of Iowa*, 1927, Ch. 131.

THE FIRST YEAR

P. F. Hopkins, formerly city manager at Ames, assumed his duties in that capacity at Mason City on June 1, 1927.[101] It is therefore possible to observe a little more than a year of the new régime.

The City's Finances.— The chief problem of the new city manager was the introduction of order into the financial chaos of the municipality. From March 31, 1927, to April 1, 1928, Mason City lived within her income for the first time in several years while reducing the funded and current municipal indebtedness by $114,738.39. This was done with a millage levy approximately the same as that for several years back.[102] It was not accomplished by curtailing expenditures for equipment or reducing salaries. It was merely the result of careful and thoughtful planning on the part of a trained and experienced expert paid by the city to do just that thing.

It is frequently thought that the city manager's salary is an unduly large drain on the municipal treasury. The $6000 paid Mr. Hopkins is, however, less than was paid the city commissioners under the old plan.[103] Consequently the manager's salary is not an added expense, for the mayor and councilmen are unpaid in charter managed cities. As a matter of fact, the manager began to serve for less than the commissioners formerly received.

Mr. Hopkins knew that the payrolls of the city could not be carried without an overdraft increasing the $55,425.90[104] of warrants inherited from the preceding administration. He therefore directed his attack upon the payroll. The first

[101] *Public Management*, Vol. X, p. 247.

[102] *Annual Report of Mason City*, 1928, pp. 6, 26.

[103] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 6517.

[104] *Annual Report of Mason City*, 1928, p. 26.

retrenchment established his good faith by assuming the form of dispensing with his own secretary. He set up his office in the waterworks building where he could avail himself of another stenographer when needed. The building inspector and plumbing inspector had been full time men. The duties of the latter were loaded on to a licensed plumber already employed in the water department. The manager of the waterworks was found to have had building experience, a legal requisite, so he was asked to assume also the duties of building inspector. A draftsman was transferred from the water department to the engineering department. Three employees were dropped from the waterworks. Seven men were immediately taken off the streets. As a result of the elimination of these positions the payroll was at once reduced by $1500 per month. The total reduction in the waterworks eventually reached six men without apparently injuring the service. During the first year the municipal payroll was reduced by fifteen or sixteen persons.

Purchasing for the city was formerly not concentrated. Mr. Hopkins is now in full control of purchases. Formerly each man carried an order book which was in itself an authority to buy. A requisition book has been substituted which contains a form carrying detailed directions to a central purchasing agent. Every such requisition must be approved by the manager. The purchasing agent formerly bought for the water department and now has an office adjacent to that of the city manager. In routine matters he issues the purchasing order and signs Mr. Hopkins' name. The vendor receives the original copy. The first carbon is sent to the requisitioning department which approves it when the goods are received and returns it to the purchasing agent who has the second carbon.

The approved first carbon indicates to the manager that the goods have been received and the invoice is then paid.

The council has given the manager *carte blanche* authority to pay all bills within the discount period. Each councilman is given a typewritten list of bills and they are approved in blanket. "Whenever possible, material or equipment already available in any department, was drawn upon to meet the need of any other department; thus eliminating unnecessary duplication. A similar procedure for work that could not be performed by the department issuing the requisition has resulted in real economy and has tended to a closer co-operation between departments."[105]

For the fiscal year 1927-1928 forty-two and a half cents out of every dollar spent by Mason City went for debt service. Thirty per cent of the income will be necessary until 1941 to meet existing bonded indebtedness. After 1941, a material reduction in taxes for debt service can be made, provided no additional bonds are issued. There has been some expectation that the city manager plan should result in tax reduction. At the present time this would be disastrous. Mason City has for years met increasing expenditures by increasing the debt. The taxpayer should be happy if the budget can be balanced, existing debt reduced, and improvements made without increasing the taxes.

For the past seven or eight years the tax levy has hovered around 66 mills. This year it is at that figure, an increase of ¼ mill over the previous year and a reduction of ¼ mill from two years ago upon the former valuation. As a result of equalization by the State Executive Council, however, the actual levy for 1928 is 63.1 mills.[106]

A partially successful attempt has been made to cut down interest expense by buying up bonds not yet due, many of which are not callable, from available cash in sinking funds. Sinking fund interest left in banks goes to the State under

[105] *Annual Report of Mason City,* 1928, p. 4.

[106] *Annual Report of Mason City,* 1928, pp. 5, 6.

the Brookhart-Lovrien Act. It therefore becomes unprofitable to finance debt retirement by the use of sinking funds if any other means are available. Bonds amounting to $38,000 were purchased at a saving of $13,383.27 between premium paid and interest charges to maturity. The holders of the $122,000 water bonds, bearing 6 per cent interest and not due or callable until 1940, refused to name any price. In some cases refunding operations would have been so profitable to the city that a price of 120 was offered, but even this was refused. In addition to the above bonds, $40,273.35 in matured bonds were paid during the year. Outstanding warrants were reduced from $55,425.90 to $18,960.86. The total reduction in debt amounted to $114,-738.39, which means $5900 less interest to be paid in 1928. The debt retirement plans for 1928-1929 contemplate the payment without refunding of $49,000 bonds maturing within that period and the entire elimination of warrants outstanding April 1, 1928, to the amount of $18,960.86.[107]

Police.— The police department was so under-manned and under-equipped that it was found impossible to economize by cutting its expenditure. Effort was therefore devoted toward increasing the efficiency of the department under existing budget conditions. An attempt was made to inaugurate the three platoon system but the man power was too small for such a move at the present time. The following new equipment was purchased: one patrol car, one motorcycle, six regulation revolvers, one bullet proof vest, and gas equipment. The identification bureau was improved to the point where it compares favorably with the standards required for such work elsewhere. Considerable effort is now being devoted to increasing the efficiency of the department. An officer was sent for two months to the

[107] *Annual Report of Mason City,* 1928, pp. 3, 4.

police training schools of Grand Rapids and Detroit, Michigan. The chief spent the summer of 1928 observing and studying under Chief Vollmer of Berkeley. On September 1, 1928, he returned with a Berkeley officer who instructed the Mason City force for sixty days. It is hoped that this training will place Mason City well to the front in police efficiency. The force needs more adequate quarters which, it is felt, must be provided shortly. Members of the force were at first skeptical toward the new régime but their confidence has been thoroughly established. The writer was informed by the men that they now enjoy the best working conditions that they have ever had.[108]

The Fire Department.— The Mason City fire department was also under-manned and under-equipped. Chief Thomas Conner retired on December 1, 1927, after thirty years continuous service. Mr. Hopkins brought in from the outside an experienced and technically trained chief, D. H. Shire, who had many years of experience in the Denver and Davenport departments. During the war he was placed in charge of fire protection for the Rock Island Arsenal, a post he has occupied continuously since. He is a graduate of the New York Fire School, and regards fire protection and fire fighting as sciences which must be studied and learned.

The firemen undergo a definite course of training. Classes are held every afternoon from 1:30 to 3:00 in which the men discuss tools, appliances, and apparatus. At other times they are required to solve problems while simulating actual fire conditions with equipment. Bi-weekly mimeographed questions are answered by the firemen to inform the chief of their progress. Chief Shire is trying to recruit the force with young high school graduates. He is of the opinion that firemen should have some knowledge of the

[108] *Annual Report of Mason City*, 1928, pp. 9, 10.

theory of hydraulics as well as other technical subjects. Older men with common school education are unable to make progress in these studies. Each man on the force is trained to do every job so that his training will be well rounded rather than specialized.

The fire loss for Mason City for 1927 was $11.88 per capita which is exceedingly high.[109] From January 1 to August 1, 1928, it has been less than forty cents per capita, a figure so low that even Chief Shire recognizes that it is partly due to good fortune. Nevertheless, a considerable portion of this good showing can be chalked up to efficient operation. Some aid to fire prevention is given by the more rigorous inspection methods employed today.

Streets.— Most of the economy in labor fell upon the street department which now operates with fifteen men as against twenty-five a year ago. A saving of about $500 per month was accomplished through the purchase of a mechanical sweeper. One of the first acts of the city manager was to place the street department under the supervision of the engineer. The superintendent of streets is also an engineer, showing the tendency of city managers everywhere to substitute technically trained administrators for political appointees.

The city recently purchased a seven acre gravel pit from which it is surfacing this year twenty-five miles of unpaved streets which had been allowed to get in bad condition. The property owners are being assessed for this improvement at the rate of ten cents a front foot.[110]

[109] Report of the Committee on Statistics and Origin of Fires, National Board of Fire Underwriters, May 24, 1928; *Annual Report of Mason City*, 1928, p. 7.

[110] *Annual Report of Mason City*, 1928, pp. 4, 13, 14.

Water Department.— The waterworks had been under a special board independent of the city commissioners. The adoption of the city manager plan brought it back under the general city government. It had been well managed and was in good financial condition. The revenue, however, has not been sufficiently large to provide much leeway for the retirement of funded obligations. Six men were taken off the payroll without apparently injuring the service. There are no elevated supply tanks in which to store surplus water. The result is that direct pressure must always be supplied through pumping. Thus a considerable amount of idle steam equipment is kept in constant, but expensive, readiness. It is suggested by Mr. Hopkins that this condition be corrected by using electricity for emergency pumping purposes and erecting a large storage tank. The department is also staggering under the burden of the $422,000 in bonds outstanding at 5½ and 6 per cent not callable and in some cases not due till 1941. As a result of all this the net cash profit of the plant for 1927-1928 was only $702.73 with no provision for debt retirement.[111]

New water mains were formerly financed by special assessment. This expense is now paid by the city itself.

Garbage Disposal.— The new manager was immediately confronted with the necessity of rejuvenating worn out garbage disposal equipment. The furnaces were ready to fall to pieces and the heavy garbage season was beginning. Mr. Hopkins again became the engineer, donned his overalls, climbed into the dirty and grimy furnaces, and decided what needed to be done. A superfluous night employee was transferred from the sewage disposal plant and set to rebuilding the incinerators. They have thus been rebuilt with an increased capacity of 20 per cent at a saving

[111] *Annual Report of Mason City,* 1928, pp. 16–19.

of $220 over the last rebuilding and will burn one-third less coal than formerly.

Conclusion.— The writer visited Mason City in the summer of 1927 when Mr. Hopkins had been on the job barely more than a month. He returned again in August, 1928. An attempt was made to call upon persons known to have originally been lukewarm or in open opposition to the city manager plan. While some were non-committal as to the eventual success of the plan, without exception they said that the *present* city manager was conducting the affairs of the city in a satisfactory manner. The first year at Mason City has apparently been a decided success.

WEBSTER CITY

The city manager plan has been in operation in Webster City since October 18, 1915.[112] It was the first city in Iowa to adopt the charter form enacted by the legislature for the first time in the spring of that year; and for five years, or until Dubuque joined the fold in 1920, it was the only charter city manager city in Iowa.

It is said by those who have lived in Webster City that it was formerly a community divided against itself. There were the old up-town and down-town groups who fostered animosity and refused to coöperate for the common good. The city manager plan was born amid such surroundings. Today the community is said to be united and it is also declared by some who claim to know that the city manager plan has been to a very large extent the integrating and unifying force. Opposition was not thoroughly quieted, however, until the opponents had taken the matter to the

[112] For verification of this date see a letter from Edward P. Prince of Webster City to Attorney Lowell L. Forbes of Mason City, dated January 18, 1927, now on file at the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City.

polls. A member of the council under the old mayor and council government prior to 1915 edited a newspaper which took an aggressive stand against the existing régime. A special election in 1924 retained the city manager charter by a vote of 1463 to 621.[113] Now many men formerly lukewarm or antagonistic are united in enthusiastic advocacy of the city manager plan.[114]

MUNICIPAL UTILITIES

Probably no other thing has served to attract public attention to Webster City as much as the outstanding success achieved in the administration of her municipally owned utilities. Three prosperous plants supply the citizens with a high quality of electricity, water, and gas service at reasonable rates. The conduct of these enterprises has not, however, always sailed on smooth waters. The city managership under the direction of G. J. Long deserves the lion's share of the honor for bringing them to their present state of efficiency. In the words of one citizen, these possessions constitute a "common property, owned by all, interested in by all, giving vital service to all" and were "a common ground for common thoughts and common hopes. They saw the cost of living lessened by the cheapened services, by lower taxes and, now that the law will permit the transfer of moneys from one fund to other funds or purposes, by a tax free town, perhaps."[115] Today these

[113] See a letter from W. F. Hunter, editor of the Webster City *Freeman-Journal*, dated May 28, 1927, now on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City.

[114] This view is substantiated by letters in the files of the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City and by information gained by the writer when he personally visited Webster City on July 13, 1927.

[115] A letter to the writer from Oscar F. Donaldson, dated June 17, 1927, now on file with the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City, and published in *American Municipalities*, Vol. LII, March, 1928, p. 21.

utilities are valued in excess of $500,000 as compared to $200,000 when the plan started in 1915. On March 31, 1928, there were $117,000 of bonds outstanding against these properties most of which represented loans issued quite recently to purchase the gas plant from its private owners. Substantial cash balances render the net indebtedness practically negligible.[116]

The Electric Plant.— Ordinary household users of electricity in Webster City today pay a rate of 7.2 cents per kilowatt, compared with 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 cent rates elsewhere. The generating system consists of a modern steam turbine outfit supplemented at the peak by two old Corliss units. Mr. Long's efficient operation cost records have demonstrated that this inferior equipment is too costly. At the present time, one Corliss unit is being replaced by a 2000 H. P. turbine generator which doubles the existing capacity. The river is being dammed to provide the water necessary for this new equipment and altogether the light plant is receiving improvements in 1928 amounting to $65,000 without resort to bond issue or taxation. Sufficient funds from current earnings were on hand to finance this construction.[117] The city has an electric appliance store which always pays a small profit in addition to paying rent to the fire department for the use of a part of its building. In addition to supplying electric current to the inhabitants of Webster City, three surrounding towns are supplied, one a distributing plant owned by a large private utility concern. Moreover, 350 farm homes are served, at low rates, by 175 miles of farm lines that have been built to attach to the Webster City municipal plant. Much can be written of the immense benefit received by the rural population from this

[116] *Report of City of Webster City, Iowa,* for year ending March 31, 1928.

[117] *Daily Freeman-Journal* (Webster City), November 15, 1927.

service. The current has not been off the switch board by accident since March 18, 1918, when a tornado demolished a part of the plant.

The Gas Plant.— In 1920 the gas plant was purchased from its private owners by the issue of $75,000 worth of bonds. It is expected that they will be retired from profits without the necessity of resorting to taxation. Extensive betterments have been furnished at the old rate of $1.50 per thousand; but during the period of municipal ownership the quality of the gas has been increased from a 350 to a 550 B. T. U. content. Improvements amounting to $25,000 are contemplated for this plant in 1929.

The Water Plant.— The water supply is secured from deep wells by electrically operated pumps. There is now under construction, at a cost of $20,000, an aeration and sedimentation plant for the removal of iron, hydrogen disulphide, and carbon dioxide. This improvement is being financed without resort to bond issue.[118]

PERSONNEL

The city manager of Webster City is G. J. Long, a graduate of Iowa State College at Ames in electrical engineering. After being in charge of the Webster City utilities for two years, he was appointed manager upon the resignation of the first manager, H. G. Vollmer, in April, 1917. He is now serving his eleventh year as city manager and receives a salary of $4000 per year.

The city clerk, who receives a salary of $1800, is appointed by the council, as are the city attorney and police judge who receive salaries of $1200 and $400 respectively. There is no civil service. One police chief and two patrol-

[118] Letter from Manager G. J. Long, dated August 1, 1928.

men receive $100 per month each. They are appointed by the manager and report to him regarding the status of the peace several times per day. The manager never changes the police personnel, however, without convincing the council of the necessity of the change. A complete turnover was recently deemed advisable, but he did not carry it out until he knew that the sentiment of the council was with him in the matter.[119]

The fire department is selected by the manager. One full time chief receives $110 per month and living quarters. Another man works for the electric department during the day and sleeps at the firehouse at night and answers calls with the rest of the department Two other volunteers make the firehouse their home. They are paid only in case they answer a fire call. Other volunteers living in their own homes make up the remainder of the fire force. Ten years ago the fire equipment consisted of a horse drawn hose-cart. Today there are two modern White trucks, one with a chemical outfit, the other with a pump. As a result Webster City enjoys an insurance rate the equal of any city of its size.

The assessor is appointed by the council. Probably as assessment grows out of its present chaos and becomes more scientific the city manager in Iowa will be given supervision over it.

There were 63 on the Webster City municipal payroll for June, 1927 — the largest industry in the city. Mr. Long has aimed to instill a spirit of friendly rivalry and competition among the various departments. He, in company with other managers, realizes that a successful administrative régime must be built upon *esprit de corps* and morale. Men employed in the utility plants have been encouraged to take correspondence courses in the technical field in which they

[119] *Report of City of Webster City, Iowa,* for year ending March 31, 1928.

were working. It is found to stimulate unusual interest in their work. Frequently they become so engrossed in some problem or technical discussion that they remain at the plant long after working hours.

It is sometimes urged against the adoption of the city manager plan that the municipal personnel will at once be subject to wholesale discharge and replacement. This is not true, however. At Dubuque and Mason City surplus and unnecessary positions were abolished, but otherwise only the normal changes occurred. The engineer at the light plant in Webster City is the same man who held that position when Mr. Long took charge. The men know that they have security of tenure and that they may expect gradual increases in income as long as their services and conduct are up to standard.

The city manager keeps a check on all municipal work by requiring that all under his immediate supervision report to his office to receive written instructions. If an employee is told to perform some task he knows that he must report to the manager's office where the person in charge will issue a department order in duplicate. One copy is taken by the one who is to perform the task. The other copy remains at the office. The form contains a place for the job number, date, the name of the one who gave the order, and a longer space for instructions. In the center is a space to show who was ordered to perform the task, underneath which the manager signs. At the bottom is a place to report the accomplishment or completion of the task, the date, and name of the performer, who then returns the slip to the manager's office where suitable notation is made. This system insures that various jobs will be completed and it also relieves the manager from carrying a great deal of detail in his head. The status of any given task may be ascertained at any time by simply referring to the files.

MUNICIPAL FINANCE

Accounting.— Manager Long has demonstrated the value of accounting in placing municipal administration upon an efficient basis. The writer had the opportunity of comparing the cost records of the municipal light plant in 1915 with those of today. The former were merely crudely scrawled estimates of coal used in tons with no boiler records or notation of cost. Today a daily operating record shows the exact pounds of coal burned by each boiler during any given period of time; it also shows the K. W. H. output, the cost of the coal, the kind of coal, the boiler in operation, and many other items entering into operating costs. This system has been known to detect boiler defects showing a cost of one pound of coal per kilowatt in excess of neighboring boilers. Mr. Long says that it is this kind of accounting that has permitted the economies which have reduced the electric rates in Webster City three cents per kilowatt in the face of rising costs.

Separate ledgers classifying expenditures are kept for each of the three utility plants and for the governmental functions. The ledger for the governmental functions includes 158 items or categories of expense, the electric plant 106, and the gas plant 64. The manager is thus enabled to trace each item back to the purchasing order, invoice, and receipt acknowledgment. Such records have proved invaluable in planning for the future. Mr. Long knows exactly, by means of charts that he has prepared from these cost records, the comparative efficiency of each of his boilers, each generating unit, each type of coal and each fireman. He is thus guided in making his purchases. The Corliss units are now being replaced by a much more efficient turbine generator. This change will enable a saving of 1,000,000 pounds of coal per year alone, in addition to giving 100 per cent reserve capacity at the peak, whereas

there is now practically no peak reserve. Accounting therefore tells the manager where he stands.

It has been pointed out elsewhere in this monograph that municipal enterprises have frequently failed because there had been no effort to set up accurate cost records and depreciation reserves. This is amply indicated in a report made by Mr. Long as consultant to the council of another Iowa city which had been operating its plant at a loss with more modern equipment and much higher rates than at Webster City. In his report Mr. Long points out the absolute lack of operating records in the light plant. The off peak load was being carried by old engines that had smaller capacity than the newer turbines. No one seemed to know, however, that the turbines were operated even with their much greater capacity at a much cheaper cost than the small engine. Thus some old boilers and two obsolete engines were being operated while more modern equipment stood idle. Mr. Long points out how the difficulties at hand could be largely eliminated by adequate records. "The distribution of accounts in the electric and water departments gives at a glance what portion of the utility is absorbing the greatest expense and a study of this with the operating records will not long permit of useless outlay."[120]

Orders are made out for every payment of money and these are allowed at council meetings, the clerk making out the warrants. The treasurer then makes the payments. The manager, the clerk, and the treasurer make out individual monthly financial reports which must tally with each other in main results. The manager's report is much more detailed than the other two. The clerk keeps the records required by the State of all municipalities and collects all

[120] A report by G. J. Long of Webster City to the mayor and city council of Atlantic, Iowa, dated March 12, 1927.

rentals, while the treasurer issues a short statement showing the condition of the various funds.

Purchasing.— The city manager is, of course, in charge of all purchasing. The advantage of having a keen manager always on the alert to save municipal dollars is demonstrated by one or two instances. At Webster City it is desirable to use a considerable quantity of soda ash to soften the water before it goes into the boilers. It had been bought locally at an increasing expense. While attending a meeting of the City Managers' Association Mr. Long ran onto sources of carload supply that resulted in a saving of $1880 per car. Early in 1927 when a shut down of Iowa mines seemed imminent Mr. Long was confronted with the problem of a cheap coal supply. The Iowa screenings, then being burned, had not heretofore been successfully stored without immersion and the immersion tank capacity was inadequate for a season's supply. The purchase of Illinois or Kentucky coal would mean increased operating costs. While piling some Iowa screenings during the previous year it was noticed that where the team and wagon had packed the coal it had not fired. One of the men pointed this out to Mr. Long and suggested that some effort be made to pack the coal stored in 1927. Mr. Long accordingly sent the municipal steam roller to the light plant and as the Iowa screenings were unloaded they were piled and packed by the roller. This process seems to have the effect of driving the air and oxygen out. This coal, stored early in 1927, had not caught fire up to the time the writer visited Webster City in the middle of July. The experiment was tried again during 1928 with entire success. This little idea saved many dollars in directing purchases.

Financial Condition.— What has the city manager plan

done for the financial condition of Webster City? It has increased the value of her municipal possessions almost half a million dollars without resort to taxation. It has reduced public utility rates below those for surrounding towns. Above all, it has eased the burden on the individual's pocketbook by reducing the tax levy from 49.5 mills in 1915 to 33.5 mills in 1927, and this without raising the valuation. Indeed, a mill levy today actually brings in less than it did in 1915. In the former year a mill yielded revenue amounting to $1076 while today it commands only $956. It is evident, therefore, that the actual expenses of government have been reduced. Although the gross bonded indebtedness is slightly higher than in 1915, this is explained by the bonds issued for the acquisition of the gas works. Taking into consideration the joint cash balance of $108,872.91 on April 1, 1928, the city of Webster City has a net indebtedness much smaller than in 1915. It could sell its prosperous utilities for an endowment that would probably yield enough interest to reduce taxes to an absurdly low figure.[121]

Although much of this progress might have been secured under the old mayor and council system, it can be safely said that the lion's share of the honor belongs to the city manager. Mr. Long says that the city manager system is not one man rule; it is one man responsibility. As one citizen puts it, the manager "is a personal, Webster City. He knows what he is talking about. He tells all within and without the city confines what can and what cannot be done. He is a head to the affairs municipal that the public can reach and rely upon". The manager receives scores of calls each day, ranging from the old-fashioned lady who wanted a new "wick" in the street light in front of her

[121] *American Municipalities*, Vol. LII, p. 23; *Report of City of Webster City, Iowa*, for year ending March 31, 1928.

house and the man who wanted the "static" shut off, to the rivalry among churches as to who should sell ice cream in the park. "There is now a man in Webster City who makes his living shouldering this responsibility. Not as it was, a body of men who made their own living and took care of the City's problems in their spare moments."[122]

PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS

Streets.— Webster City has refrained from expensive paving and resurfacing projects during the recent high cost era. Not long ago a considerable area of asphalt was found to be deteriorating in a rather unexpected fashion. Litigation turned against the city and failed to hold the contractor responsible. Mr. Long made an extensive study of the problem and finally managed to restore and preserve the asphalt surfaces by means of a Tarvia mixture without resorting to an additional special assessment.

Webster City covers a rather large area for a municipality of its population. On the outskirts the houses are frequently quite far apart and, as is characteristic of most small Iowa cities, much of the property is not capable of bearing a paving assessment. Every resident is able, however, to gain access to his home on a surfaced street at all times of the year. The unpaved streets are surfaced with the cinders from the municipal light plant, and they are regarded as a very effective and economical surface. Gravel from the municipal pit is also used. Formerly several teams were constantly kept busy at this sort of work, which is now done by motor equipment.

Another convenience that is probably seen in few cities with a population less than 10,000 is a huge flusher mounted on a truck. The streets of the business section are flushed every morning before business houses are opened. Resi-

[122] *American Municipalities*, Vol. LII, p. 24.

dential streets are flushed somewhat less frequently but nevertheless periodically. The result is constant cleanliness at a cost hardly greater than the old sprinkling system which gave but temporary relief.

During 1928 horse drawn street grading and maintenance equipment was replaced with trucks and motor power graders and maintainers. It is estimated that this change will result in first-class maintenance — at a saving of several thousand dollars per year over the old system.

The Cemetery.— Webster City has a beautiful and extensive cemetery which is under the supervision of the city manager. It is supported by a perpetual care fund amounting to between $30,000 and $40,000. This fund is largely the result of efficient management of the proceeds of lot sales.

John M. Pfiffner

Municipal University of Wichita
Wichita Kansas

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The John Askin Papers 1747–1795. Edited by Milo M. Quaife. Detroit: Detroit Library Commission, 1928. Pp. 657. Plates and maps. This collection of Askin papers is the first volume in a series to be issued by the Detroit Library Commission under the caption of *Burton Historical Records.* According to present plans a second volume of Askin papers covering the years 1796 to 1815 will be published in the near future. Under the able and experienced editorship of Dr. Milo M. Quaife these volumes will be a distinct contribution to the history of the region about the upper lakes. John Askin visited Detroit as early as 1762. In 1764 he took up his residence at Mackinac, and in 1780 he moved to Detroit where he lived until 1802. He then took up his residence across the river in Canada, but he continued many of his Detroit connections until his death in 1815. Askin engaged extensively in the fur trade, supplied government posts, at one time controlled several sailing vessels, and was interested in many other business ventures. Indeed, his activities covering over half a century in the northwest were so many that "his personal papers illustrate practically every aspect of the life of his time in the region of the upper lakes". For this reason the Detroit Library Commission selected the Askin papers for the first volume to be published from the vast collection of historical data assembled by Clarence M. Burton at Detroit. Historical workers will welcome the enterprise of the Detroit Library Commission in making the source materials of this collection available for the "use of scholars generally and for ready reference". The format of the new series is very pleasing and the press work is excellent.

Cyclical Fluctuations in Agriculture and Industry in Russia, 1869–1926, by S. A. Pervushin, is an article of historical interest in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* for August, 1928.

Labor Policies of the National Association of Manufacturers, by Albion Guilford Taylor, has been published in the *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.*

The city of Rochester has issued Volume II of the series entitled *World War Service Record of Rochester and Monroe County New York.* This volume of 1985 pages bears the title *Those Who Went Forth to Serve.*

Folk Beliefs in the Ozark Mountains, by Vance Randolph, is an article of interest to middle western readers in *The Journal of American Folk-lore* for January–March, 1927. This number was issued in June, 1928.

Writings on American History, 1924, a supplement to the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1924*, has recently been published and distributed. The volume was compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin.

The Organization and Administration of the Union Army 1861–1865, by Fred A. Shannon, Associate Professor of History at the Kansas State Agricultural College, has been published in two attractive volumes by the Arthur H. Clark Company.

The Initiative of the United States Senate in Legislation; 1789–1809, by Lane W. Lancaster, and *Six Years of Co-operation in Oklahoma*, by Harry Barth, are two articles of historical interest in *The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* for June.

The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722–1766), by Claude L. Vogel, has been published as Number 8 in the series of *Franciscan Studies.* This is a series of monographs published under the auspices of the Franciscan, Conventual, and Capuchin orders of the United States and Canada.

Nationalism at the Council of Constance, by George C. Powers; *The Origins of "Real Patronato de Indias"*, by J. Lloyd Mecham; *Pourquoi Rome a Parlé*, by Arthur Robert; and *Medieval Manuscripts*, by Zoltán Haraszti, are the articles and papers in *The Catholic Historical Review* for July.

Russia, The Straits Question and the Origins of the Balkan League, 1908–1912, by William L. Langer; and *On Inland Transportation and Communication in Antiquity*, by William Linn Westermann, are two articles of historical interest in the *Political Science Quarterly* for September, 1928.

Political Science and the Juristic Point of View, by George H. Sabine; *Bentham on the Theory of Second Chambers*, by Lewis Rockow; *The Law of Martial Rule*, by Charles Fairman; and *Public Law in the State Courts in 1927–28*, by Robert E. Cushman, are leading articles in *The American Political Science Review* for August.

The Journal of American History for 1927 has been issued in one volume rather than in four separate numbers. The volume contains a wealth of material in commemoration of the "sesquicentennial of the progress of the American Revolution against British tyranny and infringement upon the rights of the American colonies".

An Aristocratic Small Town, by Charles A. Cook; *Phases of Early Oklahoma History*, by Joseph B. Thoburn; *Gangplanks to Cape Cod*, by Elroy S. Thompson; *Leonard and Allied Families*, by Gail Wheeler Pritchard; *Deniston and Allied Families*, by Walter S. Finley; and *Augustus Pollack*, by S. G. Scoville, are the articles and papers in *Americana* for the third quarter, 1928.

The Office of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, has published two interesting bulletins on Indian life. One, entitled *Education of the Indians*, was printed at the Indian Print Shop, Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, Chilocco, Oklahoma; the second, *Indian Home Life*, was published at the Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas.

The Journal of Negro History for July contains the following articles and papers: *The First Panama Mission and the Congress of the United States*, by N. Andrew N. Cleven; *The Negro in the History of the Pacific Northwest*, by W. Sherman Savage, and *The Liverpool Movement for the Abolition of the English Slave Trade*, by Jean Trepp.

British Headquarters Maps and Sketches, by Randolph G. Adams, has been published by the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan. This volume contains a descriptive list of maps and sketches used by Sir Henry Clinton while in command of the British forces during the Revolutionary War. The original manuscripts and printed documents described in the volume are preserved in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

WESTERN AMERICANA

Wisconsin History Epitomized, by Joseph Schafer, is an interesting article in *The Wisconsin Magazine* for August.

Mound Builders of Illinois, by Addison J. Throop, formerly of Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, has been published by the Call Printing Company at East St. Louis.

The Indiana Battle Flag Commission has issued a booklet on *Indiana Soldiers and Battle Flags in the Mexican, Civil, Spanish-American and World Wars.*

Education in Detroit Prior to 1850, by Sister Mary Rosalita, Professor of American History at Marygrove College, Detroit, has been published by the Michigan Historical Commission.

The Green Bay Historical Bulletin for May-June contains an account of *French Documents on La Baye and Fort St. Francois, 1684, Recently Discovered in the Government Archives, Paris.*

In the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for September, Milo M. Quaife continues his series of *Detroit Biographies* with an interesting sketch of *Robert Rogers.*

The Joint Purchasing Committee and Heads of the State Institutions of Indiana have issued an illustrated booklet on *Indiana's State Institutions.* The work was edited by Peter Sletterdahl.

The Southwestern Frontier, by Carl Coke Rister, Professor of History at Simmons University, has been published by the Arthur H. Clark Company. This volume is a study of the Southwest before and after the Civil War.

Geological Reports of Douglass Houghton, edited by George N. Fuller, has been published by the Michigan Historical Commission at Lansing. Douglass Houghton was first State Geologist of Michigan, serving from 1837 to 1845.

The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio has reprinted a rare pamphlet entitled *Some Considerations on the French Settling Colonies on the Mississippi.* Beverley W. Bond, Jr., wrote the *Introduction* to this interesting document.

Further Notes on the Archaeology of the Navajo Country, by Albert R. Reagan, is a valuable contribution in *El Palacio* for July 7. Mr. Reagan describes additional archaeological discoveries in Arizona, in the combined number for July 21–28 and August 4.

The New Mexico Historical Review for July presents the concluding chapter of the article on *Geronimo*, by John P. Clum; the concluding chapter of *Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail*, by Fred S. Perrine; and an account of *Manuscripts in Mexico Library*, by Francis V. Scholes.

The *Year Book of the State of Indiana for the Year 1927* has been compiled and published by the Legislative Bureau under the direction of Governor Ed Jackson. This book contains the annual reports of State officers, departments, boards, and commissions for 1927.

The Indiana Historical Society has published an interesting monograph entitled *Evansville's Channels of Trade and the Secession Movement 1850–1865*, by Daniel W. Snepp. This booklet is Number 7 of Volume VIII of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications.*

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for July contains the following articles and papers: the second installment of *Minor Empresario Contracts for the Colonization of Texas, 1825–1834*, by Mary Virginia Henderson; a continuation of *A History of the J. A. Ranch*, by Harley True Burton; and *Danevang, Texas*, by Thomas P. Christensen.

Indian Tales of "Little Indians", Windigos and Witches is the title of a folklore pamphlet prepared by Charles E. Brown of the State Historical Museum of Wisconsin. He has also published *Scenic and Historic Illinois* which includes Lincoln sites and monuments and those connected with the Black Hawk War.

The June and July issues of the *Indiana History Bulletin* contain extended accounts of celebrations commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of George Rogers Clark's advance into the country northwest of the Ohio River. An extra number of the *Bulletin* for July contains *Recollections of the Civil War*, by Oran Perry. The August number is devoted largely to an account of Indiana historical societies.

Claim Associations and Pioneer Democracy in Early Minnesota, by Charles J. Ritchey; *The Hill-Lewis Archeological Survey*, by Charles R. Keyes; *Some Gaps in the History of the Northwest*, by Joseph R. Starr; *State Historical Agencies and the Public*, by Theodore C. Blegen; and *Minnesota as Seen by Travelers*, edited by Ernest S. Osgood, are the papers and articles in *Minnesota History* for June.

The Wisconsin Archeologist for July contains the following articles: *The Sacred Springs of the Lake Poygan Region*, by George Overton; *Other Spirit Springs*, by Charles E. Brown; *A Minnesota Copper Pike*, by Willoughby M. Babcock; *Two Fluted Stone Implements*, by Vetal Winn, and *Plants Used by the Bois Fort Chippewa Indians of Minnesota*, by Albert B. Reagan.

The Early History of the Louisiana State University, by J. Fair Hardin; *A Judicial Auction in New Orleans*, translated by Laura L. Porteous with an introduction by Henry P. Dart; the *History of Madison Parish, Louisiana*, by W. M. Murphy; *William Beer, 1849–1927*, by Edward Laroque Tinker; and *Judah Touro and His Will*, by James A. Renshaw, are the leading articles in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for January.

The *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for July contains the following articles: *Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick and the*

Vatican Council, by Reverend John Rothensteiner; *The Martyrs of the Southwest*, by Reverend Paul J. Foik; a continuation of *The American Federation of Catholic Societies*, by Anthony Matre; and a continuation of *Illinois: The Cradle of Christianity and Civilization in Mid-America*, by Joseph J. Thompson.

History of Science in the State of Washington, by Edmond S. Meany; *An Indian Chief*, by Francis A. Garrecht; a continuation of *Yakima Days*, by Denys Nelson; *Recollections of a Pioneer*, by Elizabeth R. Holtgrieve; *Archibald Pelton, The First Follower of Lewis and Clark*, by J. Neilson Barry; *Puyallup Indian Reservation*, by W. P. Bonney; and *Experiences of a Packer in Washington Territory Mining Camps During the Sixties*, by James W. Watt, are the articles and papers in *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for July.

The Missouri Historical Review for July contains the following papers and articles: *General Odon Guitar*, by North Todd Gentry; *Exposition of an Early Diploma Mill*, by E. A. Collins; *Henry Clay Dean, "The Orator of Rebel Cove"*, by Edgar White; *The Progressive Movement in Missouri*, by William T. Miller; *Historical Activities of the Springfield, Missouri, University Club*, by E. M. Shepard; and a continuation of *William H. Richardson's Journal of Doniphan's Expedition.*

The Oregon Historical Quarterly for June contains the following papers and articles: a *History of Pioneer Sheep Husbandry in Oregon*, by Alfred L. Lomax; and *Indian Diseases as Aids to Pacific Northwest Settlement*, by Leslie M. Scott. Under documentary material appear *Captain Robert Gray's First Visit to Oregon, Haswell's Log of the Sloop Washington*, with an introduction by T. C. Elliott; *The Diary of Henry Bridgeman Brewer, Being a Log of the Lausanne and the Time Book of The Dalles Mission*, with an introduction by John M. Canse; and *On the Plains in 1852*, by J. Neilson Barry.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for March contains the following articles and papers: *Lincoln in Indianapolis*, by George S. Cottman; *Robert Dale Owen as a Mystic*, by Louis Martin Sears;

Mary Wright, Pioneer Musician of Switzerland County, by Mrs. A. V. Danner; and *Boundaries of Wayne County and its Townships*, by Luther M. Feeger. *General La Fayette in Indiana*, by Charles N. Thompson; *The Education of a Backwoods Hoosier*, by Harvey W. Wiley; *An Early Indiana Political Contest*, by Henry Lane Wilson; *The Adoption of the Australian Ballot in Indiana*, by Robert La Follette, and *Warrick County and the Northwest Territory*, by William L. Barker, form the contents of the number for June.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History for June contains the following articles and papers: *Carl Schurz, Immigrant Statesman*, by Joseph Schafer; and *Pioneer and Political Reminiscences*, by Nils P. Haugen. Under *Documents* appears a continuation of the *Letters of the Reverend Adelbert Inama, O. Praem.* The September number contains *A Forgotten Village*, by Mrs. W. F. Pett; *Danish Settlement in Wisconsin*, by Thomas P. Christensen, and a continuation of *Pioneer and Political Reminiscenses*, by Nils P. Haugen. Under *Communications* appears an interesting account of *John F. Rague, Architect*, by M. M. Hoffman.

The Hankses, by Reverend William E. Barton; *George Rogers Clark*, by Mrs. Sara John English; *President Lincoln's Clemency*, by J. T. Dorris; *Early Taverns and Inns in Illinois*, by Paul Wilson Elder; and *From the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia to Henry County, Illinois*, contributed by Lydia Colby, are some of the papers and articles in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for January. The number for April contains among others the following papers and articles: the *Diary of Mrs. Joseph Duncan* (Elizabeth Caldwell Smith), edited by Elizabeth Duncan Putnam; *The Public Career of William Barton Warren*, by Erwin J. Urch; and the *History of Trinity Church, Jacksonville*, by Mrs. Sara John English.

The College Career of William Jennings Bryan, by George R. Poage; *Promotion of Immigration to the Pacific Northwest by the Railroads*, by James B. Hedges; *The Upper Mississippi Valley* in *Anglo-American Anti-Slavery and Free Trade Relations 1837–*

1842, by Thomas P. Martin; *An American Experiment in Colonial Government*, by Beverley W. Bond, Jr.; and *The Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, by Arthur W. Hirsch, are the papers and articles in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September. Under *Documents* appears an account of *Harry Innes and the Spanish Intrigue: 1794–1795*, edited by Arthur Preston Whitaker.

A *Diary of the Siege of Detroit*, by William L. Jenks; *The Vanished Kingdom*, by Ivan Swift; *The Fiction Field of Michigan History*, by H. Bedford-Jones; *Some Unusual Relics in the Michigan Pioneer Museum*, by E. F. Greenman; *Pioneers of St. Joseph County*, by Warren C. Hull; *The Folk of Our Town*, by Henry O. Severance; a continuation of the *History of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs*, by Irma T. Jones; *At Fort Mackinac a Century Ago*, by Harry L. Spooner; *Three Islands*, by Marion Morse Davis; *Cornish Miners of the Upper Peninsula*, by James E. Jopling; the *Detroit Campaign of Gen. William Hull*, by John G. Van Deusen; and a *Calendar of Michigan Copyrights*, by William L. Jenks, are the papers and articles in the *Michigan History Magazine* for July.

The Colorado Magazine for June contains the following historical articles: *The Hatcher Ditch (1846–1928)*, by A. W. McHendrie; *Del Norte — Its Past and Present*, by Fred Espinosa; *"Sniktau," Pioneer Journalist*, by Frances Higgins; *The Development of the Colorado Cattle Industry*, by Robert Rowe; *"Santa Fe Drive", Denver*, by Simpson T. Sopris; and *Recollections of a Pioneer Preacher*, by E. C. Brooks. *Early Years of the Telephone in Colorado*, by Howard T. Vaille; *The Last Years of James P. Beckwourth*, by LeRoy R. Hafen; *Early History of Costilla County*, by Edmond C. van Diest; *The Utes Visit My Ranch on the Plains*, by A. K. Clarke; *Experiences on the Platte River Route in the Sixties*, by Frank M. Case; and *Early Days of Craig, Colorado*, by Elladean Pierce, are the articles in the number for August.

A *Brief Biography of William Henry Holmes*; *Israel Putnam*, by Mrs. H. G. Edgerton; *Joseph A. Howells*, by C. B. Galbreath;

Pioneer Life in Ashtabula County, by Joseph A. Howells; and *Sketches of John and Ann (Simpson) Davis; their Forebears and Descendants*, by Eva (Sells) Jaeger, are the leading articles in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October, 1927. The number for January, 1928, contains among others the following articles: *Some Ohio Caves and Rock Shelters Bearing Evidence of Human Occupancy*, by H. C. Shetrone; *The Quakers — Their Migration to the Upper Ohio, Their Customs and Discipline*, by H. E. Smith; *Revolutionary War Soldiers Buried in Clark County, Ohio*, by A. L. Slager; the *Story of the First Geological Survey of Ohio*, by Paul W. Stoddard; and the *National Old Trails Road in Ohio*, by C. B. Galbreath. The combined number for April and July, 1928, contains an account of William Corless Mills, by C. B. Galbreath, and *Ohio in National Politics, 1865–1896*, by Clifford H. Moore.

IOWANA

Iowa's First Normal is the title of an interesting historical sketch in the *Midland Schools* for September.

An interesting article on the State Park at Keosauqua, by Russell Smith, appeared in *The Fairfield Ledger* for August 15, 1928.

Henry C. Ethell of Monrovia, California, has written an article entitled *Fragments of Early History* which appeared in *The Bloomfield Democrat* on September 6, 1928.

The *Report of the State Mine Inspector* for the biennial period ending December 31, 1927, has recently been printed and distributed.

The twenty-eighth annual *Iowa Year Book of Agriculture* has been issued by the Iowa State Department of Agriculture. This volume contains a wealth of information about agricultural conditions in Iowa for 1927.

The remarks of Congressman Cyrenus Cole on *Herbert Hoover's Boyhood in Iowa*, made in the House of Representatives on May 29, 1928, have been reprinted in pamphlet form from the *Congressional Record*.

The *Annals of Iowa* for July contain an interesting account of *Pehr Dahlberg and the First Swedish Settlement in Iowa,* by Robert Nelson Dahlberg and Charles Leonard Dahlberg; and a continuation of the classification of *Iowa Public Archives,* by C. C. Stiles.

The *Mason City Globe-Gazette* issued a special edition on June 16th commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the city. Many articles on various aspects of local history were included in this issue of the paper.

The Greatness of the Middle West, an address by L. A. Downs, president of the Illinois Central System, at a dinner given by the Sioux City Chamber of Commerce at Sioux City on June 26, 1928, has been published in pamphlet form by the Illinois Central System.

Professor L. H. Pammel of Iowa State College has published three more booklets in the series *Prominent Men I Have Met.* Number four is a sketch of E. W. D. Holway, number five of Spencer Ambrose Beach, and number six of Dr. Charles Edwin Bessey. A copy of each of these interesting sketches has been presented by the author to the State Historical Society.

The fourth annual issue of *Kinnikinnick* has come from the press. This issue continues the traditions of former numbers. All the work has been done on the campus at the State University of Iowa, and the verses are chiefly from students who have attended the poetry conferences of Professor Edwin Ford Piper.

Under the editorship of Reverend George Bennett the magazine formerly known as *Iowa Conservation* has reappeared under a new title *Wildways.* Two issues were published, one for January–March, and the other for April–June, before the death of Reverend Bennett.

Volume XXXIV of the *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science for 1927* has been distributed. It contains an account of the forty-first annual session of the society held at Iowa City on

May 6 and 7, 1927, and a collection of valuable papers dealing with scientific problems.

Who Designed Iowa's Old Capitol? by M. M. Hoffman, is an interesting analysis of the question in *The Witness* for June 21, 1928. The author shows clearly the connection of Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli and John F. Rague with the beginnings of Iowa's historic building.

The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society for September, 1928, is entitled the *Fairchild Number*, and is dedicated to Dr. David S. Fairchild who exerted a profound influence upon the development of scientific medicine in Iowa. Dr. W. L. Bierring contributes a biography in this number in which he relates the interesting career of Dr. Fairchild who has spent sixty years as a practitioner, surgeon, teacher, editor and historian of the medical profession in Iowa.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Atwater, Ruth,
Fragments (poems) (The Tanager, July, 1928).

Belanski, C. H.,
Pentameracea of the Devonian of Northern Iowa (University of Iowa Studies in Natural History, Vol. XII, No. 7). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1928.

Bennett, H. Arnold,
The Great Snake Hunt (The Palimpsest, September, 1928).

Briggs, John Ely,
The Lay of the Land (The Palimpsest, July, 1928).

Brigham, Johnson,
Youth; Middle-Life; Death (poem) (Poetry Review, 1928).

Brown, Mabel Erie,
Dusky Lading (The Palimpsest, July, 1928).

Christensen, Thomas P.,
Danevang, Texas (Southwestern Historical Quarterly, July, 1928).

Danish Settlement in Wisconsin (The Wisconsin Magazine of History, September, 1928).

The State Parks of Iowa (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, July, 1928).

The Story of Iowa A Children's History. Cedar Falls: Holst Printing Co. 1928.

Crum, Earl LeVerne,

Index of Proper Names in Services (University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, Vol. IV, No. 1). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1927.

Earhart, Amelia,

Courage (poem) (Survey-Graphic, 1928).

Farran, Don,

Peter the Hermit (poem) (Adventure Magazine, August, 1928).

Field, Mildred Fowler,

Vessel of Life (The Midland, July-August, 1928).

Fritz, Ralph A.,

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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

A. N. Harbert recently presented the State Historical Society of Iowa with a collection of magazines and pamphlets pertaining to the railroad history of Iowa and miscellaneous matters.

Dillon H. Payne, well-known writer and historian of Davis County, recently deposited a copy of his manuscript "Some Prominent Incidents in Davis County" with the State Historical Society of Iowa.

Dr. John M. Pfiffner, Professor of Political Science at the Municipal University of Wichita, has been engaged in special research for the State Historical Society during the past summer. Dr. Pfiffner has made an extensive study of the city manager plan in Iowa.

About seven hundred people have contributed to the Iowa archeological survey according to Professor Charles R. Keyes who is directing the survey for the State Historical Society. Field work, which was inaugurated in 1922, has almost been completed for the preliminary report. Since 1922 every county in the State has been visited to discover where the antiquities are located and of what they consist.

The following persons have been appointed by the Governor to serve as non-resident members of the Board of Curators for two years: Mrs. Lillian Clark Cary, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. John M. Grimm, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Lafe Hill, Nora Springs, Iowa; Mrs. H. C. Houghton, Jr., Red Oak, Iowa; Miss Nettie McKinnon, Waterloo, Iowa; Mrs. Grace Potter Miller, Ackley, Iowa; Miss

Merta Mitchell, Keokuk, Iowa; Mrs. W. S. Pritchard, Garner, Iowa; and Mrs. Galen Tilden, Ames, Iowa.

Dr. Carl E. Guthe, Chairman of the National Research Council Committee on State Archeological Surveys and Curator of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, visited Iowa City on July 13th to confer with the staff of the State Historical Society about the archeological survey in Iowa. Dr. Guthe has been visiting the States in the Mississippi Valley for the purpose of noting the progress being made in archeological work. In the afternoon a conference was held in the rooms of the State Historical Society of Iowa and Dr. Guthe told of achievements in archeological discoveries and surveys in various States. Mr. Brown of Marengo brought to the conference a collection of Indian arrowheads, implements, and pottery fragments found in a single township in Iowa County.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. B. A. Gronstal, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mrs. Marie M. Hamilton, Guthrie Center, Iowa; Mr. John Lovelace, Audubon, Iowa; Miss Erma Plaehn, Reinbeck, Iowa; Mr. Max von Schrader, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. R. L. Warner, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. W. L. Belfrage, Sergeant Bluff, Iowa; Miss Katherine Brose, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Frank J. Edwards, Fairfield, Iowa; Mr. Eliphalet H. Hawbaker, Stratford, Iowa; Mr. Fred M. Higley, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. C. A. Leland, Jr., Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. E. W. Chihak, Burlington, Iowa; Miss Edna Frazer, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Beth Griffith, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa; Mrs. Laura Middleton Helleland, Eagle Grove, Iowa; Dr. Frederick H. Lamb, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. N. W. McGee, Dubuque, Iowa; Miss Rose McKinnon, Manning, Iowa; Rev. A. J. Nuel, Cherokee, Iowa; Mr. Arthur Overby, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Velma Pearse, Marshalltown, Iowa; Mr. John M. Pfiffner, Wichita, Kansas; Mr. E. E. Phelps, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa; Miss Edna May Rittenhouse, Waterloo, Iowa; Mr. Elmer Sutthoff, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. A. O. Thomas, Iowa City, Iowa; and Miss N. Irene Ullius, Des Moines, Iowa. The following persons have been enrolled as life members: Mr. Chas. M. Dutcher, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. R. J. Fleming, Des Moines, Iowa; Lieut. Col. Morton C. Mumma, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. A.

W. Armstrong, Perry, Iowa; Mr. N. W. Beebe, Hampton, Iowa; Mr. C. H. E. Boardman, Marshalltown, Iowa; Mr. John G. Bowman, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Miss Eva Burnet, Allerton, Iowa; Mr. Chas. C. Clark, Burlington, Iowa; Mr. Hugh L. Cooper, New York City; Mr. James C. Davis, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. J. W. Doxsee, Monticello, Iowa; Mr. C. A. Ficke, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Theo. W. Hawkinson, Walker, Iowa; Mr. F. E. Haynes, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. John G. Hempel, Elkader, Iowa; Mr. Harvey Ingham, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Henry F. Johnson, Pella, Iowa; Mr. B. F. Kauffman, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. O. E. Klingaman, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Harriet Lake, Independence, Iowa; Mr. G. E. Marsh, Osage, Iowa; Mr. D. C. Mott, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Wm. Musser, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. E. E. Pinney, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. W. P. Powell, St. Petersburg, Fla.; Mr. C. W. Ramseyer, Washington, D. C.; Mr. A. G. Rigby, Independence, Iowa; Mr. John S. Runnells, Chicago, Illinois; Mr. S. J. Sayers, Jefferson, Iowa; Mr. W. T. Shepherd, Harlan, Iowa; Mr. A. J. Small, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. J. W. Sullivan, Algona, Iowa; Mr. J. O. Watson, Indianola, Iowa; Mr. S. M. Woodward, Iowa City, Iowa; and Mr. H. H. Polk, Des Moines, Iowa.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Society of Indiana Pioneers and their guests made a pilgrimage to historic New Harmony on June 22–24. On the evening of June 22nd a program was held, and on the next morning the visitors were conducted on a tour of all the old historic scenes and landmarks made memorable by the Rappite and Owen settlement.

The Illinois State Historical Society will hold a prize essay contest for high school students during the school year of 1928-1929. The subject will be "Old Mills of Illinois". A similar contest was held last year with "Historic Churches in Illinois" as the subject.

On April 12th, the State Historical Society of Michigan and the Detroit Historical Society held a joint session in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the first historical society in the State. Professor Louis C. Karpinski of the University of Michigan gave an address upon his experiences during a recent trip to Europe in search of manuscript maps of America in France, Spain, and Portugal. Following this was a discussion of historical work by President William L. Clements of the State Society, President Clarence M. Burton of the Detroit organization, and William L. Jenks of Port Huron.

IOWA

A number of interested citizens from different parts of the county met at Creston on August 18 for the purpose of taking preliminary steps to form a Union County Historical Society. W. J. Donlin was selected as temporary chairman and Tom Hamilton as temporary secretary. Another meeting was arranged for October 3 at McKinley Park at which time a permanent organization was effected.

The Wyoming Historical Society held its fourth annual meeting on August 14th at Wyoming. Papers read at the meeting included:

"Memories of Wyoming", by Allie Chaplain Baldwin and Janet Robertson; and "Early Facts of Wyoming", by Mae Brainard Richards. The following officers were elected: president, J. W. Morse; first vice president, Mrs. Mary Pixley Smith; second vice president, Mrs. S. H. Brainard; third vice president, Mrs. Carrie Leach Stephenson; fourth vice president, E. M. Babcock; recording secretary, Miss Frances Franks; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Mae Johnson Peck; treasurer, Emma Alden; program committee, Mrs. Elva Calkins Briggs, and Miss Frances Franks. The Society now has one hundred and five members.

With a charter membership of twenty-two, the Iowa Society of Mayflower Descendants was organized on April 17, 1928, at Ames. The officers elected were: deputy governor general, Mrs. Louis B. Schmidt, Ames; vice deputy governor general, Mrs. John M. Wormley, Kingsley; governor, Mr. Harold King Bowen, Fort Dodge; secretary, Mrs. Albert A. Ambler, Des Moines; treasurer, Mrs. George L. Owings, Marshalltown; historian, Mrs. John S. Cutter, Shenandoah; captain, Mrs. Mary K. Gaston, Shenandoah; chaplain, Mrs. Thomas P. Low, Green Mountain; deputy governors for Iowa, Miss Alice E. French, Davenport, Mrs. Charles Wester, Cedar Falls, Mrs. Andrew Kout, Nashua, Miss Jessie Kelley, Ames, Mrs. T. P. Low, Green Mountain, Mrs. Mary K. Gaston, Shenandoah, Mrs. J. H. Stanger, Boone, Mrs. Robert H. Munger, Sioux City.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The twenty-third annual outing of the Hawk-Eye Natives was held at Crapo Park, Burlington, on September 12, 1928.

A fine steel engraving, the gift of Louis Akin of Corning to the citizens of Calhoun County, was unveiled at the courthouse in Rockwell City on June 20, 1928.

A pageant depicting dramatic episodes in the history of Iowa was presented at Copeland Park, Correctionville, on the evenings of August 1 and 2.

The Hancock County Agriculture Society staged a successful pageant at Britt in June in which a cast of three hundred men, women, and children enacted scenes from the history of Hancock County.

The Johnson County Old Settlers Association held its annual meeting at the City Park in Iowa City on September 13, 1928. Bruce E. Mahan, Associate Editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave the address of the afternoon. Short talks were given by Reverend C. Rollin Sherck, W. F. Murphy, and O. A. Byington. Officers elected for the new year were: E. M. Brown, president; Mrs. C. P. Lee, vice president; Joseph Walker, secretary; W. J. Weeber, treasurer; and Ruth Osborn, necrologist.

On June 28, 1928, the Lake Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution marked nine sites connected with the Spirit Lake massacre of 1857. These sites included the location of the Howe and Thatcher cabins in Tusculum grove on East Okoboji, the Gardner cabin at Arnold's Park, the Mattock cabin, the Noble cabin, the Marble cabin, and the place where Harvey Luce had prepared to build his cabin. The site of the old fort at Spirit Lake was included in the program. The Lydia Allen Chapter plans to

mark the Kirchner cabin near Peterson with a tablet similar to those used at the lakes.

On June 28, 1928, the Iowa Falls Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a marker and tablet on the site of the first State Normal School in Iowa. This was held at Iowa Falls in April, 1870. Mrs. O. K. Dick, regent of the Iowa Falls Chapter presided at the dedicatory services and gave the address of welcome. Dr. Herman Knapp of Ames gave the principal address of the day. Mrs. Harry Sampson of Des Moines read a paper giving an account of the founding of the Normal School. Mrs. W. H. Burrows presented the marker and tablet to the State D. A. R., and Mrs. L. S. Dorchester of Clear Lake accepted the gift. Five of the original attendants at the first State Normal were present at this meeting.

CONTRIBUTORS

Charles Roll, Associate Professor of History at the Indiana State Normal School, Terre Haute, Indiana. Born near Terre Haute, August 8, 1883. Graduate of the University of Indiana with the degree of B. A., 1910. Received the M. A. degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1912. Fellow in American History in the University of Wisconsin, 1912-1913. Associate Professor at the Indiana State Normal School since 1913.

John M. Pfiffner, Professor of Political Science at the Municipal University of Wichita, Wichita, Kansas. Born at Emmetsburg, Iowa, August 10, 1897. Received the B. A. degree from the State University of Iowa in 1916, the M. A. degree in 1917, and the Ph. D. degree in 1927. Was Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Fellow in International Law at Columbia University for one year. Has been Professor of Political Science at the Municipal University of Wichita since 1927.

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TO THE

IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS

VOLUME TWENTY-SIX

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